

Lt. Colonel Hunter
THE *Grenadier Guards*

COFFEE PLANTER
OF 1609/291
SAINT DOMINGO;

WITH
AN APPENDIX,
*Containing a View of the Constitution, Government, Laws, and
State of that Colony, previous to the Year 1789.*

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
SOME HINTS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLAND,
UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

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OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

Ignari discant, ament meminisse periti. HOR.

L O N D O N:
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TO THE
R E A D E R.

I HAVE had my share in all those benefits which his Britannic Majesty, and the nation over which he rules, have poured upon the unhappy planters of St. Domingo. Bound by great obligations, it hath been my ardent desire to render a serviceable and public proof of my gratitude; but, circumstanced as I am, I found it difficult to accomplish the object of my wishes. I am too old to enter upon a military life, and my professional acquirements, such as they are, do not find place on the present occasion:

In this perplexity, I learned that the cultivation of the coffee-tree, which, at a former period, was highly extended and improved in my native country, hath not yet (for what reason I know not) been much attended to in the island of Jamaica. The hint gave me some hopes, that by communicating

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nicating my experience on this subject, I should be enabled to acquit myself of a small part of my obligations; for, after a life spent at the bar, I had chosen my abode of repose on an estate of that kind, which I had the good fortune to improve to a considerable degree of perfection.

Such is the motive of the present attempt. I have exerted myself to the utmost of my power to make it complete in design, and useful in practice. I thus take the liberty to dedicate it to the British planters, and to beg for it their patronage and support.

That I should have ventured to write the following pages in a language to which I am in a great measure a stranger may seem extraordinary; and, indeed, I am sensible that I can scarcely escape the charge of presumption and rashness. The following is my only apology. The work is intended for English planters, the majority of whom, perhaps, do not understand my native tongue; and though the present form may be awkward, I must beg indulgence for it, as I know of no body ready to undertake the irksome task of a translation.

Nothing but such necessity could have induced me to encounter such an arduous undertaking, an undertaking to which I am sensible I am very unequal,

TO THE READER.

unequal, especially as I must frequently enter into descriptions abounding with technical terms, where there is danger of error and mistake, and where great correctness is not only necessary, but where some portion of elegance ought to be found to relieve the dryness of the subject.

It is, however, presumed, that readers, who consult my work on account of its information, will not be too fastidious at the homeliness or awkwardness of its dress; I have spared no pains, though I may sometimes have failed to make my meaning intelligible. I know I can not have escaped the idioms of my native tongue, which appear flat and ridiculous in the ears of an Englishman. But if, notwithstanding these defects, which may sometimes occasion weariness and disgust, the planter will fortify himself with patience, to follow out the series of my observations, the result of experience and much reflection, detailed in the following sheets, he may, perhaps, at last find some information worthy of his attention. If such should be the case, the author will have the reward of his labour.

I have only to observe, that I had no thoughts of writing for my countrymen, the planters of St. Domingo; these know as much of the matter as I do; and therefore have no occasion for my instructions, nay, I expect many will blame me for

TO THE READER.

laboriously committing to writing what they suppose all the world to know. But in answer to this, I shall beg leave to oppose my motto; and without pretending that any thing will here be found capable of better informing them, only hope, that *if the wise dislike to remember, the ignorant may still be glad to learn.*

Port-au-Prince,
St. Domingo,
March 1st, 1797.

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THE
COFFEE PLANTER OF ST. DOMINGO:

OR,
A SHORT EXPLANATION OF THE
CULTIVATION OF THE COFFEE TREE,
AND OF THE
PREPARATION OF THE COFFEE;

As these were lately practised in the ISLAND of
ST. DOMINGO,
and particularly in the Parish of BORGNE in the North.

THE cultivation of the Coffee Tree, and the mode of preparing the coffee, which were introduced into St. Domingo so early as sixty years ago, had, in the course of time, improved to such a height of increase and perfection; that the annual produce exceeded seventy millions of pounds; and the quality, though inferior to that of Mocha, where the tree seems to be indigenous, was not less perfect than that of Martinico; vying even with the coffee of the Island of Mauritius or Bourbon.

Introduc-
tion.

If then, the cultivation of this rich article of commerce happens to be still in its infancy in any of the neighbouring colonies, it might probably be doing such colonies an acceptable service, to expose to their view, in a plain, perspicuous, and methodical manner, those processes of culture which have best succeeded in St. Domingo; and especially in that part of St. Domingo, which had the

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earliest

Introduc-
tion.

earliest claims to the improvement of this valuable plant and commodity.

Such is the scope of this small treatise, which (without regard to narrow ideas of national rivalry, illiberal at all times, and which ought to find place no longer in the breasts of French royalists) I was induced to undertake, from my present situation and my late engagements; and perhaps such may be my fate, that I shall make the trial of practising, amongst my new fellow citizens, and in my newly adopted country, what I here make public for their information.

It must not be imagined that I value myself on the merits of this performance. It is not doing much to bring together and to arrange, in natural and obvious order, the common methods and practices of planters. If, by chance, any thing has arisen from my own experience and reflection, I am conscious it must have been of easy and obvious remark. But, that I may trace this interesting subject through its various steps, without (as far as I am able) leaving any point unexplained, I shall take up the planter, if I may be allowed the expression, in the cradle of his settlement, conduct him in his progress, till his labours have arrived at maturity, or the highest pitch of improvement, nay till his materials, exhausted and spent, begin to sink into decay, a period which demands the most careful attention, as it is capable of being retarded by skill, ingenuity, and vigilance.

Division
of the
Work.

For the sake of methodical arrangement, I shall divide the work into four chapters.

The

OF ST. DOMINGO.

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The first chapter comprehends the choice of the ground, and whatever relates to the grubbing of it, the first plantations, and more particularly all the accessory articles. Introduction.

The second takes in the various establishments; namely, the constructions, workhouses, buildings, and engines; dwelling and outhouses, negro-huts and stables. The first of these necessarily leads me to a previous explanation of the mode of dressing or preparing the coffee.

In the third, I enter into a full detail of the cultivation of the coffee-tree, tracing it through the several stages of its growth and duration.

The fourth presents a short view of the management, discipline, and care of the negroes and cattle.

The whole concludes with an appendix, exhibiting a general idea of the form of that constitution and government, which encouraged and cherished this, as well as all the other branches of our colonial culture and trade; such an enquiry, not unworthy of notice at any time, is at present particularly interesting to the English nation, and on that account I hope will not be considered by any one as foreign to my subject.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CHOICE OF THE GROUND, AND OF WHAT-
EVER RELATES TO THE GRUBBING OF IT; THE
FIRST PLANTATIONS, AND MORE PARTICULARLY
THE ACCESSORY ARTICLES.

CHAP. I.

1. Lands.

WHEN I wish to describe a period of success, improvement, plenty, and prosperity, I must go back to the year 1788. A veil must be drawn over the following times.

The whole property in land, in St. Domingo, is derived originally from the king, not through a feudal fiction, but in the truest and strictest sense of the word. It was parcelled out into lots, and bestowed by charter, which his majesty's representatives were impowered to grant. The lots were usually 64—100—or 225 squares, in, or equivalent to, regular square figures*.

After so long a period of encouragement and of exertion, as were conspicuous in this island, few lands remained, in 1789, to be granted, except perhaps in the very inaccessible heights of mountains;

* For the better understanding of this, and of several other articles, the *square* is really a square of land, 350 feet in length and breadth, or of a hundred *paces*; the pace being three feet and a half in square.

The French foot, or *pied de roi*, is longer than the English one, by 8 lines and the tenth of a line. It has 12 inches, and the inch 12 lines.

According to calculation, three English acres are equal to a square and $\frac{4}{3}$ this; so that 300 acres will amount to 116 squares and about a third.

when

when lands therefore were wanted, they were usually purchased from their owners. From the extraordinary demands, the prices rose progressively to an uncommon height.

But, in whatever manner lands may be obtained, an entry is made originally, by the assistance of a proper officer, who opens the lines in the woods, and places stamped butts in the angles. It is an object of attention to re-visit the lines occasionally, to clear away the bushes from around the butts; and even to place marks, at certain distances in the lines, of exotic strong plants, as bamboos, to prevent any involuntary trespass on the part of the neighbours.

Very few of those individuals who undertake the cultivation of coffee, are sufficiently attentive to make a proper choice of the most suitable grounds for this purpose. As the coffee lands are more or less removed to the fastnesses of mountains, and rendered difficult of access, by the intricate woods which cover the declivities; chance, occasion, and accidental conveniences more frequently determine the choice, than theoretical investigation of properties, and actual local knowledge of the ground, and of its expositions. Such are the common omissions in the beginning; and, such being the case, it becomes the business of the purchaser to be satisfied, and to endeavour to turn to the best account, by industry and attention, that portion which has fallen to his lot. 2. Choice.

But though purchases are often made at random, no such hardship is inseparably connected with the thing

CHAP. I.

thing itself. Judicious enquiry or choice will find several foundations, more or less safe, from which the settler may gain information.

3. General Means.

The first and most general, as also the easiest of all, is the knowledge of the district, and the state of the plantations around the settlement in view. It is well known that in the same parish, and even on the same estate, the lands are of great variety, both in point of the intrinsic quality of soil, and as affected by situation. However, when the adjoining estates exhibit plantations luxuriant, productive, and lasting, it is an encouraging prognostic for the planter who fixes in the neighbourhood.

In the next place, information may be gathered from general experience; for instance, it is a fact beyond contradiction that the low mountains, and those near to the champaign country are, by far, less proper for the production of coffee, than those in high and interior situations. The former are hot, often dry, and sometimes, which is still worse, liable to the parching destructive air of the sea; and it is known that coffee-trees delight in a cool climate, in an open or permeable virgin soil, frequently watered by rains, the defect of which no other watering (though ever so practicable and carefully executed) can properly supply. On the first or lower mountains, the soil is in general light and shallow; the tree of course is short-lived, both because its perpendicular root soon meets with the gravel-stone, and because the vegetative surface is washed away in a short time, by the combined effect of weeding, of rain, and declivity of descent. The

crops, in such cases, must be kept up by making new plantations every year; and in this manner, the whole land will be worn out in a short time, if of moderate extent: the crops also are rapid; and, in such situations, more hands and more platforms are required for the harvest.

On the contrary, the climate is cooler on the high mountains: the soil is always deeper and more firm; rain is more frequent; in general the declivity is less; the time of crop is longer, and more convenient; the trees, in short, are more lasting: all this is seen on the first appearance. A fuller and more luxuriant vegetation, majestic trees, great intricacy of underwood, and myriads of tropical creeping plants, proclaim it at once. You see that the powers of greater coolness have accumulated for ages, with unbounded profusion, the spoils of nature, of which the genial mould is formed, being less rapidly dissipated by the effects of the sun on the higher mountains, than on the scorched hills below.

I do not pretend to say that lands of the first kind are destitute of advantages, specious at first sight, and too apt to insnare the unexperienced people of the towns. First there is an easier access and easier means of carriage; besides this convenience, on the lower mountains, the trees are planted nearer, because they do not arrive to size. Thus, instead of 2,500 in a square, perhaps there may be 8,000; and thus the same extent, by its greater number of trees, will yield as much as in a better soil; but if the season be dry, the grain will be blasted or

CHAP. I. empty, mildewed or scorched; and, in the latter case, the ends of the branches will wither. Lastly, the trees will be of short duration; great extent of land will be necessary to supply the plantations every year, and work will be gradually more distant and inconvenient.

Upon the whole, personal convenience must be sacrificed; the highest and the remotest lands are preferable, notwithstanding the trouble and fatigue of climbing mountains on horseback, and the expence of having a great number of mules for carriage.

4.
Grounds.

The soil on the mountains consists generally of a bed of mould, more or less deep; but which ought not to be less than four or five feet. It lies upon quick rock, or upon a kind of soft stone (tuf) which seems to be formed from clay.

The softest, that is the most friable earth, is certainly the best of all, because it is the most permeable both to water and to the roots of plants; if (what is seldom the case) the declivity be gentle, so that it be in no danger of being washed away. But in general, in steep grounds, a firm but not clayey earth, friable by hard pressure, mixed with a proportion of sand, gravel, or small stones, through which water may find an easy way, is the most desirable.

The native plants and native trees, furnish a sure indication. Where vegetation is profuse, the trees, large, high, thick, numerous; the underwood and creeping plants luxuriant, the ground cannot fail to be rich. This, however, admits of exception. Mahogany,

Mahogany, all the very hard or rozin trees, and even the gre t palm tree, (*a*) when in abundance, are an evidence of dry and sometimes of barren ground. But the several kinds of cedar, the other trees of a soft contexture, and of white wood, as also a kind of lesser palm tree (called here *chapelet*) are an evidence of fresh and good soil. But some depth is always required.

Some grounds are, in a great measure, covered with white limestone, so as to have, from a distance, the appearance of a wilderness of snow; but the stone is intermixed with a very vegetative mould. Planting is more difficult in such places, symmetry less regular. But the stones prevent the mould from being washed away; and, if the climate is rainy, the trees grow remarkably fine, productive, and lasting.

The colour of the ground is of no great consequence; though it must be owned that such as is somewhat reddish, has oftener than others the principal desirable qualities.

The climate of the mountains, though very rainy, is healthy; the greater part of the distempers, which the negroes are liable to, originating from cold and wet weather. Of course the African negroes suffer particularly, from the change of climate, in the act of assimilation.

5.
Exposition.

The temperature is variable, and in proportion to the elevation and aspect. On my estate, I have seen Reaumur's thermometer so low as ten degrees,

(a) Otherwise cabbage trees.

during

CHAP. I. during the rains of winter, in an open room; and I never saw it, in summer, higher than one-and-twenty degrees, while at the Cape it rises above 34. In July and August, after a shower of rain, warm clothes, a blanket, and even fire, are by no means unacceptable. There are other mountains still cooler than this, and yet planted with coffee. It is pretended that something like ice has been observed in the highest peaks; but I cannot warrant it. Whatever it may be, instances are found of places so cool and wet, that though the coffee trees grow large in size, they yield very little fruit for several years, or indeed until large tracts are cleared on every side. But then they seldom fail of making amends for their sluggishness, when the ground is not defective.

In regard to aspect, north and west are the best, in low and hot places, because they are cooler. On the contrary, the east and south on the highest mountains; for on the north and on the west aspects of the high mountains, the trees, from want of sufficient heat, grow rapidly into a vast luxuriance of wood, and then yield very little fruit; and frequently (though this happens also sometimes from external causes) lose their leaves; the tops of their branches wither; all the main inferior boughs die and fall off; the trunk, chiefly near the root, becomes overrun with moss and parasitical weeds, which suffocate the tree. The only remedy, and happily a very efficacious one, is a severe pruning; but it is not a short nor a trifling labour.

It must however be observed, that even on the highest

highest mountains, the soil, in the warmer aspects, is lighter and softer, and of course less durable, being triturated, as it were, by the continual piercing influence of the sun. The expositions to the east are likewise more liable to the usual breeze, the strength of which is in proportion to the elevation. In general, it is remarked that strong and lasting winds, from any quarter, are hurtful to the coffee-trees; and, such being the case, if the declivities to the north and west are easy and exposed, so as to admit freely the genial influence of the sun, such aspect may be preferable, even though pruning should become necessary; an operation, however, which, as we shall see in the third chapter, may be in a great measure evaded by proper management and culture.

It appears then, from what has been said, that the highest or the lowest situations are not the best; but rather those considerably above the middle of the mountains.

In order to effect an establishment with facility, some accessory conveniences are required.

6. Accessory Conveniences.

1st. That the open or great road be not at too great a distance.

2dly. The vicinity of other plantations, from whence a supply of ground provisions, and especially of plants, may be gotten; as also for the sake of intercourse with rational creatures.

3dly. Running water.

4thly. Timber, and such trees or plants as afford thatch.

5thly. Limestone, and stone for other purposes.

6thly.

CHAP. I.

6thly. Some easy spot, where the settlement may be effected.

It is certain that many, or the most, of those things, however necessary, are sometimes wanting, and supplied by the industry of the planter; but always at great expence and toil, chiefly in the first period.

7. Precautions,

It results then, from what I have said, that the man who has in view the settlement of a coffee plantation, after maturely weighing the general observations pointed out, will act more prudently, if, before he closes the bargain, he himself visits the premites; carrying with him two or three negroes, with provisions and tools, to enable him to explore, in the best manner he can, the qualities of the soil and the circumstances of his intended estate. On doing this, he must examine the *general* exposition (for every circle of hills has two sides of opposite aspects) he must inform himself if there is water, stone for building, limestone, timber, thatch; and he must ascertain the situations in which all these are to be found. He must cause the ground to be dug in different places, as deep as possible; that he may, as far as he is able, satisfy himself of its general and particular qualities. In this manner also, he will observe the state of the natural productions, and he will form an idea of difficulty or ease of access, and of the circumstances of neighbourhood.

8. Place for the settlement.

It is highly essential, that on the first examination, the planter should determine, as near as possible, the place of his chief settlement.

First,

First, if a public road passes through his estate, he ought to fix his dwelling at some distance from it; lest he be disturbed by passengers, either individually, or in the interior order and discipline of his negroes. From such a road there are few advantages, and a great number of inconveniences.

2dly. To fix upon the centre of the tenement is a very material precaution, chiefly if the estate is extensive, and the lands not of durable quality. But, though the settlement should be fixed in the centre, yet the spot may be there too steep; and, besides, regard must be had to the vicinity of water, timber, and stone.

However, where every necessary thing does not lie contiguous, I would prefer to give up those accessory conveniences, rather than abandon the centre, especially if water can be conducted thereto through a pipe. The establishment is permanent, and its situation determines for life the convenience and easiness of every future service; and the fatigue of ordinary labour is much increased, when daily performed at a great distance. This is, in a great measure, guarded against by fixing the settlement in the centre of the tenement. Therefore, in looking forward to this advantage, it appears more eligible that building be more laborious, either from the carriage of materials, or from the trenchings necessary to level the spot, than to fix in a place from which the future plantations will be greatly distant.

This has seldom been considered; seldom have the previous inquiries hinted at been attended to.

The

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The purchase is frequently made without proper, indeed without any examination. As soon as, after a journey always deemed tedious, one has set foot upon the first spot of his land, he thinks himself happy, in not being obliged to go farther; and, thus plans his establishment on the most promising spot within the reach of his eye. To this spot he is confined by sluggishness, not regarding the immense extent which lies before him; and which, perhaps affords better situations at a convenient distance. In consequence of this inattention or sloth, after a period of fifteen or twenty years, a number of planters are forced to divide or to change their settlement, both of which are exceedingly expensive and toilsome. But the present distance from the plantations is still more wasteful and fatiguing.

I shall suppose then, that the settler has attended duly to all the points above mentioned, and that he is ready to begin his operations.

9. First Means.

There are, even in the most rainy districts, certain periods, during Lent or in October, where there are intervals of dry weather. These should be laid hold of for commencing the settlement, particularly the first.

Whatever the circumstances of the planter may be, in point of fortune*, I would by no means

* Many tradesmen and artificers, who would not fail to make fortunes honestly, in their own line, are often ambitious of forming settlements too soon, and with scanty funds. They either neglect or give up entirely their original business for a new one, which, by want of proper stock, affords less benefit.

I would not advise any man to undertake a settlement, who has not the command of 3 or 4,000 pounds sterling, independent of the land purchased.

advise

advise him to set out with a great number of negroes, particularly if he is under the necessity of carrying provisions and other things from a great distance; and if he cannot command a plentiful supply of victuals from some plantation in the neighbourhood. If he has not that supply, six, or at most twelve male negroes, with one or two women, will be found sufficient to make the first essay. It is even necessary that he provide for the feeding of these, with certainty and abundance, for which purpose he should endeavour to place provisions in store, at some one or other of the adjoining estates. In entering upon this undertaking, each negroe must be provided with a hoe, a scraper, an axe, and a bill (plate 1. fig. 1, 3, 5, 6.) two suits of clothes, a jacket, a hat, and a proportion of provisions.

Besides, the master must have a spare axe for each negro, as well as the most necessary carpenter's tools; such as a saw, a wimble, a level, a hammer, a hatchet, two borers, an adz, a gouge, a handled grinding-stone, and a provision of nails of different sizes. As to his own victuals and conveniencies, it is supposed he will not forget them; only I shall recommend that he do not overburthen himself.

I have in this business used the word *master*, though *overseer* more properly perhaps, might be substituted in its place, as it seldom happens that the *landlord* submits *himself* to the hardships of a first settlement. However, if the planter really values his undertaking, he must be sensible that every thing is of consequence in the election of the
scite,

CHAP. I. scite, and in the planning the early foundations upon which future comfort and convenience do entirely depend. This is the period too where compassionate and industrious attention is necessary for the encouragement of his negroes. If he feels in himself the pleasure arising from planting and creating; he will not begrudge personal fatigues, labour, and (I will not conceal it) self-denial; and I may add, that if he once enters fairly into the business, he will find, perhaps, in his lonely employments, a heartfelt relish of pleasing and innocent enjoyments and comforts. But, however this may be; I would earnestly advise him to visit frequently his own estate, and to take upon himself every material direction.

On the first day, assistance (if it can be gotten) of a few hands from a neighbour, will be highly necessary, so that shelter be procured for the approaching night. This should be finished before the evening rain.

10. Huts. Upon arriving at the place of settlement, not a moment is to be lost, in raising temporary lodgings or huts, one for the master and one for the negroes.

Two forked stakes, twelve or fifteen feet high, sunk three feet into the ground, support a ridge beam. On each side, at a proper distance, two other parallel beams are raised, upon small forks of a foot high. Rafters are placed upon these beams, on either side, fastened together, by means of wooden pins, at the ridge, and bound to the beams below with creeping plants or *lianas*. Upon the rafters, long sticks are transversely tied, at a foot distance from each other, with the same plants.

The

The roof is then covered with the first thatch that can be found, and tied in double and progressive rows, upon the sticks, with small *lianas* or creeping weeds; beginning below and proceeding upwards to the ridge, where a thick covering or layer of the same thatch is laid and secured by means of two rafters tied together and pressing upon either side of the bed or layer of thatch. The caps, under the roof, are shut up with hurdles of sticks and thatch; doors are also made to be occasionally shut, with flying hurdles of the same sort. A furrow dug around turns off the torrent of rain, and conveys it to a distance. Fire ought never to be made in these huts.

Thus, it is possible, in one day to finish lodgings, which (with proper care and repair) may hold out till permanent houses can be built; and for this reason the huts ought not to be exactly upon the place designed for the establishments, as they would be an encumbrance and embarrassment at the time of building (a).

Every negro must make a couch or hurdlebed for himself, upon four small forks, as it is improper to lie upon the ground.

The huts will be placed more properly within the border of the wood, to windward of the first ground intended to be cleared; with a view to prevent the effect of offensive exhalations which usually arise, at first, from the surface of newly opened lands.

(a) For the different kinds of thatch, See Chap. II. No. 58.

11. Plantations.

After every person is properly accommodated in the huts, felling down a tract of wood is the next operation, in order to form a plantation.

12. Clearing.

The first part of this business is to clear the underwood; that is, to cut all the weeds, shrubs, creeping plants, and such trees as can be made to fall by the hedging bill. The whole of these must be cut as low as possible.

13. Felling.

Next, the larger trees require to be felled down with the axe. It is proper to begin this work in the lowest grounds, and to proceed upwards; so that the trees may fall successively upon each other, as the declivity directs. The negroes must be ordered to cut as low as they conveniently can, but not to tear up the roots, as these will preserve the ground, during the first period of culture. In the prosecution of this work, proper attention is necessary, to prevent the accidents which may happen from the falling of the trees. The negroes are to be separated into parties of two or three, and placed at distances, without reach of the fall of the trees of another party. It is proper to cut the tree on the lower side chiefly, to determine the fall towards the declivity. The fall requires to be strictly watched, the negroes being taught to secure themselves in proper time. Sometimes the boughs and branches of several trees are so much entangled together by creeping plants (lianas) that twelve or more are entirely cut before they actually fall; then attention is more necessary, as danger increases; and, before the general crash, the negroes must have retired to a distance.

When

When a sufficient extent of land is felled down, the next work is to lop; that is, to cut off the lesser branches and spread them about, to facilitate the communication of the fire; it will however be proper to remove them from the trunks of good timber, to prevent those from being burnt. The boughs of greater size, such particularly as are beyond the reach of fire, must also be cut to the ground (a). Then this is left to dry for a few days; another tract of land being, in the mean time, cleared, felled down, and lopped in the above manner; and so on, until the intended plantations are fully completed.

24.
Cutting.

The state of the weather will determine the time of burning; but a person must not wait till the leaves are decayed and fallen, for these are the first fuel. A moderate breeze facilitates this business, and the proper time to begin, is, after the sun has exhales the dew, and warmed the wood, there being, at the same time, no appearance of rain. Under these circumstances, fire is lighted up to windward, in several places at once. But if the breeze is very strong, the flames will pass too rapidly for the burning of the larger boughs; in which case, fire must be put first to the leeward, then windward, at small distances from the first fire, and so on, that the flames may join. Regard ought also to be had to the declivity; if the breeze is moderate, fire must be lighted below; if strong, above. The huts must be guarded from the flames, and the

25.
Burning.

(a) Now is the time to make the lime kilns or pits. See Chap. II. No. 25, and the following.

CHAP. I. borders of the standing woodland cautiously cleaned, lest the fire should communicate.

36. Fires. After the fire is entirely extinguished, a quantity of small wood sometimes remains unconsumed; this must be gathered into heaps and burned again.

But this must be avoided, as much as possible, by proper precautions in the first burnings; because the ground is often burned into brick by these great fires.

Nay, in general, though ashes are a kind of manure, on account of the alkaline salt which they contain, it is to be wished that burning could be dispensed with, because it destroys more of the salts contained in the mould than the ashes supply; and besides, the mouldering of the raw wood affords a manure, which is hereby annihilated. But, if this is attempted, the quantity of wood, sometimes very great, should be arranged into straight and parallel rows, between which the coffee trees may be planted. Where these must be at small distances from each other, this would become difficult. Besides, nothing could be sown in those thick covered trenches. On the other hand, this would be attended with the additional advantage of furnishing, in process of time, a good manure; of sheltering the young trees from the wind; and dividing the streams of rain-water, which are equally hurtful. This, I know, has been practised with success, in plantations where there was a great number of hands, and where the trees were planted at very large distances. But I would not venture to try it in the first settlement, where a few negroes are employed,

employed, and where every spot must be converted into use, for a speedy and ample supply of ground-provisions and vegetables of all sorts. CHAP. I.

I now suppose that the ground is entirely cleared. 17. Roads;
As it is my design to put together, in the third chapter, all that relates to the cultivation of the coffee-tree, I shall here enter into a detail of all the accessory works and plantations; and first, of the Roads to and from the fields; an article necessary chiefly where the land is steep. In general the forming of roads is postponed for some time after the early settlement, though not properly.

If the lands have only a small declivity, Alleys 18. and Alleys. ought to be marked out with a line and pickets. It then would be proper that a general division of the estate be drawn upon a chart, and that it be accurately followed (a). But the nature of the ground seldom permits to adopt that regular method.

When the declivity exceeds fifteen degrees, roads or paths must be traced and opened, by means of the level and hoe.

The Levels employed here, are of two different Levels. frames (Plate 2.)

The first (fig. 1.) consists of two laths of wood A. joined together in angular form, with a tenon and mortise, so that the two ends are six feet distant from each other. At the angle B. a plummet C. is fixed, and falls upon a transverse lath D. one foot distant from the top, upon which the different

(a) See Plate 3.

C 3

degrees,

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degrees of declivity are marked, by inches or half inches, for a fathom or six feet.

The other, which is less variable, as intended for the use of the negroes, consists of a lath A. (fig. 2.) with two parallel feet B. C. at six feet distance. The one B. is fixed, and the other C. by means of a very long tenon D. goes up and down in the mortise E. This tenon is pierced with little holes, corresponding to the degrees of inclination, by inches and half inches; and, as the mortise E. is also pierced, the tenon being placed at the degree intended for the inclination of the road (suppose six inches for a fathom) is fastened with a pin, through the holes of both the mortise and tenon. Thus the level is liable to no alteration, and the negroe may go on without mistake, as the plummet F. hanging at the top of the triangle G. must always fall perpendicular to a mark H. set upon the lath A. It is also obvious that, as the lath is always horizontal, if the lengthened foot goes forwards, the road will descend; if backwards, it will ascend; if both feet are left equal it will be at the level.

19. And
Process.

Roads are horizontal, ascending or descending, according to the nature of the ground. But I must observe, that in the first instance, they ought still to be almost insensibly inclined, so that the streams of rain-water may be conveyed to the adjacent beds of torrents and rivulets (generally termed *ravines*) and that, in the latter, the declivity must not exceed six or eight inches for six feet or a fathom, except in cases of necessity; otherwise

it will be steep and fatiguing. I must also remark that, whatever be the direction of the road, as the *ravines* are approached, the road must be a slope to either side, and have a descending direction towards them. By this means, the waters of the ravines will be prevented from taking their course through the roads, and consequently from spoiling them. For this purpose, where the general direction of the road is ascending towards the ravine, the level must be turned for three or four fathoms.

One negroe rears the level, and fixing it at the opening of the road, another, provided with a mallet and a provision of flat cleft pickets, fifteen inches in length, plants one of them exactly under both the feet of the level; which then goes forward, the hind foot being planted upon the fore-picket, while the plummet points the proper place where the fore foot must rest. When it is fixed, the second negroe plants another picket, exactly under it, always with the flat side turned upwards; and so on.

It sometimes happens that the road must of necessity turn and wind (fig. 3. pl. 2.) yet these turnings should be avoided, as much as possible, for this reason, that they occasion the ground to break and fall down; at least, where indispensable (suppose from some obstacle, as a rock, or to join with some higher or lower road) they ought to be made upon a spot of the most easy descent.

When the road is marked out, it must be cut and opened with the hoe and mattock (Pl. 1. fig. 8.) from three to six feet wide; which in a great measure depends upon the declivity of the ground, for

20.
Windings.

21.
Openings.

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the more steep it is, the higher the cut is and more liable to break and fall down. In order to prevent this, the cut must be sloping, and if the breadth of the road admits of it, a gutter should be dug at the foot of the cut, to carry the waters into the ravines, and to keep the streams of rain-water from running through and damaging the coffee trees. If, in this work, some stones or stumps of trees interfere, they must be levelled with the road; and this is often the case.

22. Public Roads.

I shall speak occasionally of Public Roads, though the new settlers were free from burthens on that score, as well as from all other direct public charges and taxes, for three years:

All the roads in the mountains are opened in the above manner, of greater or less breadth, and with more or less difficulty. Sometimes the twibill, the *creek*, and even mining and gunpowder are employed, to break or blow up the rocks.

Formerly the public roads were opened and repaired by a proportional contribution of joint negro labour (in French *corvée*) towards which the government also assisted, and though it could not be yet dispensed with in 1788, for opening new roads, yet the later regulations had assigned to each planter a share in the public roads, and this in proportion to the number of his negroes, and to the quality of the road allotted to him. This allotment was as contiguous to his estate as possible, and he was bound to keep it in repair. The parish surveyor of highways lodged information (if there were neglects) to the commanding officer,

ficer, who, on his part, enforced the law by stated penalties.

The best means of preventing this work from becoming heavy, is to make frequent small repairs, and not to wait till the road is much broken up by the gutters, which the streams of water are apt to excavate. The main point is to multiply the outlets for those streams, by means of little transverse oblique causeys or gutters, and to pave the wet places with stones.

But to return to my subject; it is very material to form the roads before the coffee trees are planted; first, to avoid the vexation of cutting those trees down; secondly, because the trenches of greater or less depth throughout a piece of ground, will, in some measure, indicate the quality of the soil; and give a hint of the proper distance to be observed between the trees.

Let the lower Edges of the roads be bordered ^{23. Edges.} with those thick-rooted plants which are best qualified to bind the soil together, as millet, guineagrass, and sugar canes; but not with ground provisions, as yams or others, which must be dug out for consumption. The plantain tree is the best of all; and here let it be planted at a distance of eight feet, the intermediate space being planted with other things.

Here also let the native and foreign Fruit Trees ^{24. Fruit Trees.} be planted, the sooner the better. It is very true the master will hardly reap the advantage of the fruit, which will commonly be purloined by the negroes, even before it is ripe. But the mere sight of

CHAP. I.

of them is worth the trouble; besides, what serves for the servants is not entirely lost for the master, while, if at another time, he should wish to form an inclosed orchard, he will here find trees full grown and ready to be transplanted. The best aspect for fruit trees of all sorts is the south, and more particularly if the place is sheltered from the wind. In a few places, the peach, almond, and apricot trees do pretty well; in most, apple and fig trees succeed. As to the fruit trees of the country, the planter should take care to search for seeds and plants of the best kinds; neither ought he to forget the medicinal trees, as tamarind, cassia, and calabash, which last also affords a material fit to make vessels for the negroes. Lastly, trees do no harm to coffee trees; and plantain trees may still be planted between them in the edges of the roads. In general, it is a proper attention that either fruit trees or plantain trees should not be too near a coffee tree, but should rather occupy the place of one of them in the rows.

Let the upper edge of the road be bordered with kitchen plants, as cabbages, parsley, sorrel, and the like; but not with turnips, carrots, or red beets, as these must be dug out. Strawberries do amazingly well in the coolest places, but they must be prevented from extending too far, and growing too thick, the old stocks must be plucked up every year, and the young ones only left. Here (as also in the lower edge, where the ground is less steep) flowers of every sort, even European, may be planted. If rose trees are lopped very short, every
second

second month in the moon's wane, they blossom plentifully six times a year. It is obvious that roads planted in the manner prescribed must be very delightful.

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The artichokes succeed and bear well, only in the highest cliffs lying to the north. But they require good ground.

All these yield as long as the mould retains its virgin vigour, and till the coffee trees begin to spread a close shade.

It is needless to say that Coffee Trees must be planted as soon as the roads are opened. It is the main business to employ the ground for purposes of benefit; for half of what I have mentioned in the former article, is a matter of mere amusement, or at most comfort. But, on this subject, I refer the reader to the third chapter, where every point of this principal cultivation is explained fully. I proceed now to mention the other accessories, interesting at all times, but still more in the beginning, where the great object is to prepare the most speedy and ample supply of vegetable provisions.

25. Coffee Trees.

Beans, either white or red, afford the most ready assistance to the planter. Both yield in forty or fifty days, but the last are preferable.

26. Beans.

Next I shall mention the maiz or Indian corn, which may be gathered in a little more than four months. Rice may also be planted, but I am not by any means fond of it in the fields of coffee.

27. Maiz.

It is, however, remarkable that none of these do well

well

CHAP. I.

well in the winter season, especially in the high mountains.

All this is sowed (rather than planted) but covered about half an inch deep; usually a pretty thick row of corn is planted in the middle rows of coffee trees, with a row of beans at its right and left; but at present a greater quantity is allowable, though not excessive.

28. Offensive Plants.

The planter, in general, must remove from his coffee plantations almost every other plant, especially the tobacco, which the negroes are very fond of rearing, but which multiplies to a vast extent, and exhausts the ground; as also all the ground provisions, which when dug up, loosen and spoil it; Lastly, all the creeping plants, as melons and yams of every kind, potatoes, gourds, citruls, with that vast multitude of pease of which the country is so fertile. All these twine around, embrace, bind down and strangle the coffee trees and their boughs. They are also, though to a much less degree, hurtful to the plantain tree, and should, if possible, be removed to a particular piece of ground set apart. All these are propagated, either from seed, as the melons, pease, citruls, and French cucumber; or from plants, as Guinea cucumbers, yams, and other roots. Among the former, the Guinea or Angola pease deserves to be honourably mentioned. It is a pretty little tree or bush, with yellow flowers, which lasts three years, and bears almost continually.

29. Spinages.

The ground, as soon almost as it is perfectly cleared,

cleared, yields spontaneously a very abundant and precious food. I mean three or four kinds of wild spinages, which are here known under the general name of *calaloos*. The two best of them have something of bitterness; and one, which is exactly like the European morel (*solanum hortorum*) is so wholesome, that it cures the most inveterate ulcers, and even stops the gangrene. Mustard may also be sowed, without any inconvenience, and it proves an excellent sort of spinage, as also do the leaves of radishes and turnips.

All sorts of garden plants, pot-herbs, and roots, do admirably well among the coffee trees, especially where the ground is soft and crumbling, and the climate cool. No greater pains need be taken than to mix together all the seeds with dry sand, in a large wooden porringer, and to throw them about by handfuls. The negroes must only beware not to pick them out in weeding; it may be necessary to transplant some of them, as red beets, turnips, carrots, leeks, and the like.

30. Garden
Plants.

In general the Plantain Tree (which bears the precious manna of the West Indies, by far more valuable than the celebrated bread-fruit of the east, and at the sight of which a man feels himself impelled by gratitude to prostrate in adoration before the eternal Fountain of Good) delights and succeeds best in the places most cool and most sheltered from the wind.

31.
Plantain
Trees.

In the lowest parts of valleys, and along the streams of water, several rows of them must be planted, at twelve feet distance from each other.

They

CHAP. I.

They are of two kinds, one of which bears only a small cluster of very large plantains, and the other of small ones, but more palatable, and in very large clusters; the latter sort is highly preferable.

32. Banana Trees.

A few plants of Banana Trees (which yield a dainty rather than a substantial food) may be intermixed; these are easily distinguished by the wide black spots which cover the trunk. The plant of both consists of suckers, or of roots already shooting into buds; the largest are the most forward. As the tree must be cut to reap the cluster, it must be cut exactly near the ground, that the suckers may grow better (a).

Having observed that the trees felled down, in the deep, narrow, steep valleys, fell from both sides in such heaps as to make the bottom, even by the help of fire, inaccessible to the planting of plantain trees; I attempted to plant these, immediately after clearing away the brushwood, and before felling down the large trees. Thus I had the advance of upwards of a month. My plantation was full and regular. The young plantain trees never failed to make their way through the unburned wood. Their shade assisted towards the rotting of the wood; and the plant being exceedingly watery, was not hurt by the fire, if it was only tolerably covered with earth, when the wood was burned.

33. Root Provisions.

Let the plantain tree be ever so valuable, it does not yield all round the year, and it is liable to

(a) It is known that each tree bears but once, but the stock is very durable.

fail;

fail; for, if strong gales happen at the time it is loaded with its heavy cluster, it is thrown down, and the fruit is lost. Roots are a more certain resource, being sheltered under ground; and of course an ample supply of provision of this sort must be secured. I have mentioned the Yams, two sorts of which are equally useful; viz. the Creole and Guinea yams; they are planted, at three feet distant from each other, from roots split in small pieces. Some yams are twenty or even thirty pounds weight. When a root of any kind is taken out, the ground must be dug very deep; but to prevent the soil from being washed away, it is put back again into the hole, and pressed down strongly. The softest and most crumbling ground is the best for all kinds of roots.

34. Yams.

The Manioco is another root of very serviceable use; but it seldom succeeds in the rainy districts. Besides, it does not prosper under shade, and of course must not be planted amongst the plantain trees, but in a particular spot set apart. The preparation of this root is a matter of some nicety, as its juice is noxious even to death. Sweet manioco is free from this dangerous inconvenience, and may be eaten boiled or roasted, as the yams and other roots.

35. Manioco.

The yams (as also the Guinea cucumbers, which are very productive, and indeed beans, pease of all kinds, and Indian corn) may be planted among the plantain trees, chiefly before they spread a close shade. But some of these are offensive in
some

CHAP. I. some little degree, by creeping up and twining
about the trees.

36
Potatoes.

Sweet Potatoes (a very precious and palatable root) are generally known; and as they creep much less, do very well among the plantain trees. The European potatoes have also been cultivated, and not without success.

37.
Tayaux.

There are two sorts of a certain kind of root, here called in some places *Tayaux*, in others *malangas* (a); one sort, with green stalks and leaves; the other with purple stalks and leaves mixed with fibres of the same colour. The leaves of both take rise from a stock a little above the ground, are triangular, much in the form of an arrow, sometimes two feet long and broad, and supported by a stalk almost of the same length. The leaves of both are good food for cattle, and particularly for the hogs and cows. The youngest of the green kind is a spinage; the roots are not larger than a middle sized sweet potatoe, but a plant ordinarily yields a large basket full. This has, above all other tropical roots, the advantage of remaining under ground ripe for twelve months; and when the first roots rot, others take their place. This plant is much to be preferred to all others of the kind, amongst the plantain trees; but it succeeds only in cool places. It is propagated from the roots, or from the stocks where they bear leaves, cut into small pieces.

Plantains, bananas, and tayaux yield in twelve

(a) It was impossible for me to find out the English name.

months,

months, in the most favourable circumstances; CHAP. I.
 yams, manioco and sweet potatoes in four or five;
 Guinea cucumbers and others, in a much shorter
 period.

Where the ground is soft, and at the same time 38. Steep
Grounds.
 exceedingly steep, it is not worth while to plant it
 with coffee trees. If the exposition be cool, let it
 be planted with plantains more thick than usual;
 otherwise, with Guinea grass or bamboos, that the
 soil be kept together by the huge intricacy of roots.
 An intelligent planter will leave no spot unem-
 ployed; and I know nothing, except mere clay,
 which is very seldom of great extent, where some-
 thing useful may not be planted. Dogs grass itself
 is good for forage, as also bamboo leaves. The
 bamboo, besides, is a beautiful production, affords a
 deep cover, rafters, stakes, and poles for pens and
 inclosures; but its shade is hurtful to the other
 plants (a).

The grounds I have just now mentioned are liable 39.
Apt to fall.
 to break off and to fall down. Drenched with the
 rain, the whole surface slides away and leaves the
 rock under it exposed to view. By some of these
 falls, five or six thousand coffee trees have at once
 been known to be carried away. Sometimes, more
 consistent and compact grounds, though equally
 steep, happen to slide off from another cause;
 namely, from rain water, which after penetrating up-
 wards, creeps in, dilutes, and dissolves the soil
 under ground; the whole bed must then slide down,

(a) Guinea grass is noxious to almost any other plant, if too near
 and in great quantity.

D

on

CHAP. I. on account of the great declivity. I know no means of preventing this.

Falls of ground may also be occasioned by roads multiplied above one another, because the whole bed, which supported itself from the bottom upwards, is now cut; and the contiguity of the mutual support is broken. If land has the appearance of being liable to such accidents, roads must be made sparingly; and if possible, with no windings, the borders being soon planted with plantain trees and grass, to assist in the support.

40. Proportion of the Plantations.

The settler must calculate carefully, and only extend his plantations in proportion to the hands he is able to supply. It often happens that he is misled, through inconsiderate activity, into planting too much. But whatever his ambition may be, if it is well directed, he will be sensible that a small plantation well managed and kept clean, must be more profitable, in all respects, than a larger one ill attended to and ill worked. At all times, he must consider the prospect of the crop season, where the work is much heavier than at other times. But at all events, in the early beginnings, he ought not to forget the indispensable settlements, which demand attendance, and occupy considerable time, while the care of the fields should not be abandoned. But neither the desire of increasing the crops, nor the attendance which they require, nor the accessory labours of settlement must compel him to neglect the weeding and cleaning of his plantations; he must also be provident, in securing plenty of ground provisions for his negroes, however numerous.

I now

I now suppose, that during the first twenty months, the planter has recruited his gang, and that the plantations, of every kind, are in proper proportion with his hands. CHAP. V.

It is necessary, before actually commencing work, that the planter previously arrange the general distribution of his land, and allot the employment of it to its several plantations, always reserving a great proportion of woodland to supply the decay of his first coffee fields. 41. General Plan.

If he has made a mistake, in not choosing the most favourable situation to place his buildings, it is still time to redress it; but after this period, it would be too late; then he ought to make two intelligent negroes explore the woods, in order to discover a convenient situation. He ought to go himself to verify their reports, and to determine whether or not he should alter his design. If he does, there is very little harm, because he will afterwards have it in his power to make new plantations, which may meet with the former.

It is only in lands of very small declivity that a symmetrical regular arrangement of the building place, savannas or pastures, provision grounds for the master and the negroes, grass grounds, and fields of coffee trees can be attained. This singular blessing is very rare. I subjoin here two plans of one of the most regular plantations in St. Domingo, which may give an idea of what can be done under this head. (Plate 3, and 4.)

In others, the forage and provision grounds of the master are dispersed up and down, according to

CHAP. I.

local convenience, in order to turn to the best account the deep valleys and indifferent spots of ground. But the savannas or pastures, and the negroe grounds should still be under the master's eye. As to the houses, they are placed upon the most accessible situations, and usually upon the summit of some hill (in French *crêtes*) the most extended and broad, and the least steep, where water may be conveyed. There the several settlements are arranged, as much as possible, within sight and reach of the mansion house, and it is the part of industry to turn the situation to the best advantage.

Where it is impossible to settle in the center of the estate, that situation must be preferred, where the greatest part of the tenement lies above, so that the negroes may descend, when loaded with coffee, stones, or other things. In such case, the land lying lower than the settlement is destined for the savannas and negroe grounds.

A tract of standing woodland, which will be useful in the most advanced periods, must always be left within reach; and where the situation is happily in the centre, when a certain extent is cleared all round for the savannas and grass or ground provisions, all the coffee plantations should be carried on one side, the woodland being left at the other, that it may be found, at a like distance, when the first plantations shall be exhausted (see Plate 3.) for want of that attention, the work becomes more distant and fatiguing.

I may occasionally take further notice of some of those points.

When

When the place is finally fixed upon, it is highly material to throw upon paper a general plan of distribution, according to the ideas above hinted at, and somewhat like the Plate 3. CHAP. I.

But a Plan of the Settlements, properly so called, viz. the buildings, platforms, and houses, is still more necessary, for, if they are made at random, one after another, as often is the case, the first built may happen to be where it will be afterwards found another ought to have been; and symmetry, that costs but little, and without which the best things are awkward, and lose much of their merit, will not be attained. The plan, Plate 4th, affords a very striking instance of symmetrical convenience. 41. Plan of the Settlement.

First, the outlines of the place must be measured out, and exactly drawn upon paper. The declivities, then, must be levelled and noted upon the plan. It seldom happens that a place is not found where industry may exert itself to great advantage. The steep places are, with more or less labour, cut into platforms rising one above the other, as amphitheatres. Upon these, the settlements are distributed. This manner saves a great deal of work, and it has very often been improved into very convenient and graceful symmetry. I subjoin here an outline of a settlement in platforms, or in amphitheatre. (Plate 5.)

It is also true, that in some few instances, nature is so very ungrateful and rebellious, that even with incredible toil and expence, nothing tolerable can be effected. To have fallen into this vexatious situation would perhaps have been prevented, by the

previous examination of the land, which I have insisted upon in N° 7. of this chapter, for the purchase might have been declined.

When all the measures and levels are completed, the settlements must be calculated, according to the planter's project and circumstances, and, after several trials and sufficient deliberation, a plan must be adopted and drawn upon paper. Little skill in drawing is necessary. Any man of common ingenuity may do it, with a rule, a compass, and a square.

This being done, the angles of every intended house, platform, garden, pen, and yards must be marked upon the spot, with good pickets. The distances are measured (as also the levels) with rules of twelve and six feet (Plate 2. fig. 5.) and with a carpenter's level; and the squares are taken with a wooden ball (*ibid.* fig. 4.) as big as an orange, which is half cut upwards by two little chinks at right angles; it is supported with a stick having an iron point, which is stuck into the ground, at an angle. Then a man looking through the chinks, causes stakes to be placed in the right lines at both sides; and, in these lines, the angles are marked with pickets. This very simple machine will serve for every kind of straight square distributions.

43.
Negroe
Grounds.

The settler ought not to have delayed so long setting apart parcels of Ground for his first Negroes. Property of this sort is what most attaches them to the estate, and enables them to reap comfort from their own industry. But, however the case may be,

the present is the moment to appoint a place for all such grounds as are now, or shall be necessary in process of time; for it is fit that they all should be together, and not dispersed up and down. Every lot ought to be twenty-five paces square, allowing sixteen negroes to the square of land. These ought to be separated by rows of Guinea pease; one half stocked with plantains and ground provisions, the other half left to the negroe's choice. They usually prefer to plant the whole with rice, beans, and Indian corn, and to sell them; but the master must here interfere, and compel them to secure a maintenance. It is needless to say that regularity and symmetry, as much as the place will permit of, are pleasing and convenient, in this as in every thing else, and ought therefore not to be overlooked.

It is only in process of time, in general, that good Savannas can be obtained. New cleared ground is so long overrun with wild luxuriant weeds, which it bears spontaneously in unbounded profusion, that the pasture grasses are smothered and prevented from germinating. The best way, then, is to plant a quantity of corn, pease, and other provisions, in the ground designed for the above purpose; and, when the wild weeds are destroyed by weeding several times, to suffer the pasture seeds to grow and extend, even to sow them in some places. In this manner, the savannas will sooner grow into full and good pasture.

In general two small savannas are much more profitable and convenient than one large, as they may be pastured alternately. A few native trees

CHAP. I.

should be left in them, as shelter from the sun, or a few elms, the large seeds of which are a very good food for the cattle, may be planted early. A little stream of water through the pastures would also be convenient.

45.
Pens.

Cattle or beasts are necessary, in the first beginning, for the carriage of provisions. A couple of milch cows are very much so, both on account of sick negroes and children, as for the convenience and comfort of the master. A Pen or Pound therefore, formed of good stakes and poles, with a hut for shelter, should be made as soon as possible. A field of grass must also be planted in one of the places which I have mentioned. Guinea grass is the best for mules and horses; millet, and the leaves of *tayaux*, or of sweet potatoes, better for cows, as furnishing greater abundance of milk. The weeds picked up in the plantations are also, in general, good grass.

46.
Hedges.

In all cases, that period must be chosen where the soil has still its original strength, to inclose and divide the ground designed for pasture, with Hedges; even though that ground is stocked with coffee-trees or other plantations; for in general the first field of coffee surrounding the houses is designed for the purpose of pasture. But as long as it bears well it is given up with reluctance. It is indeed a pity to cut off fine and productive trees. Thus I have seen an estate of twenty years standing where there was no savanna, though the hedges still subsisted from the beginning throughout the first coffee fields.

The

The hedges are planted from seeds, and more properly from sapplings, either of logwood which grows faster, or of lemon-tree which is more durable, and does much better in cool climates. Nurseries ought to be made, in order to get better plants; two rows of logwood are necessary, one of lemon may be sufficient. Young hedges must be well weeded, and the decayed sapplings replaced with new ones. When the shoots are five or six feet high, they must be cut alternately, one eight or twelve inches, and the other two feet from the ground. Thus the hedge will grow up close and thick. It must afterwards be occasionally lopped, facing outwards on either side; and the lateral boughs must be directed to twist together. The necessity of keeping the inclosures of pastures in good order, to prevent the trespasses of the cattle in one's own grounds, and to avoid the disputes so frequent and so disagreeable with one's neighbours, does not require to be mentioned. For want of hedges the pastures are frequently inclosed with stakes and poles; but then there is no end of trespasses, of complaints, and of toil to repair them.

I suppose that before this period the husbandman has taken some steps to improve his Personal Comfort and Conveniencies; for instance, that he has resigned his original hut to the negroes with whom he may have been re-inforced; and that he has built himself a provisional house (designed for some future particular purpose, in his general plan) more capacious and comfortable; as also, that he has made arrangements for procuring better living, and above all, the means of baking bread.

An

47.
Personal
Conforts.

CHAP. I.

48.

Temporary Oven.

An Oven may be made, at no expence, and with little difficulty, by digging a soil of clay, or of solid earth or gravel, exactly in the inward form of a common oven; beating the floor with a small rammer after it has been well levelled and moderately wetted; and shutting it with a common oven door. When perfectly dry it must be warmed by slow degrees before baking. This, with proper care, may last for twelve months, and is capable of making tolerable bread.

It is now incumbent upon me to proceed to an explanation of the business of settling or building, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SETTLEMENTS; *viz.*

CONSTRUCTIONS, BUILDINGS, WORKHOUSES, ENGINES, PLATFORMS, DWELLING AND OUT-HOUSES, NEGROE HOUSES, AND STABLES; AND FIRST OF THE PREPARATION OF COFFEE FOR THE MARKET.

ABOUT twenty months after the first planting (as I have hinted in the end of the preceding chapter) the husbandman must enter into the business of his permanent settlements; but that the nature and design of such as belong to the manufacture of Coffee may be better understood, a clear idea must first be given of the mode of preparing that article for market. CHAP. II.

The fruit of the Coffee, when perfectly ripe, appears like a small oval cherry. Under a red and shining skin a whitish clammy luscious pulp presents itself, which generally incloses two seeds. These seeds have one side flat, the other hemispherical. The first is marked with a longitudinal fissure, and the flat sides are applied to each other. If the seeds are opened they are found covered with a white, ligneous, brittle membrane, denominated *parchment*, on the inside of which is another silver-coloured membrane, exceedingly thin, and seeming to originate from the fissure of the seeds. Here the seeds, properly so called, lie, and seem to consist of a sprout and of two original leaves.

1. Coffee Grain.

Sometimes

CHAP. II.

Sometimes the cherry has only one seed or grain, which then is in the form of a small egg; but the chink, parchment, and membrane are preserved. This is peculiar to old decayed trees, or to the extremities of some small branches.

2. Quality
for Sale.

The business of preparation consists in taking the seed from its coverings, in drying it one way or other, and in cleaning it, so as to have every advantage at market.

It is generally known that the merchants have fixed a mark of preference upon coffee of a certain appearance. It is thus particularly required that it be perfectly dry, have a fine deep green colour, termed *born-green*, a strong pleasing smell, and some brightness. Some remains of the silver-coloured membrane are also sought for in the fissure. Lastly, small coffee is preferred.

Is this the best coffee for use? Such is not in reality the case. It is matter of fact, that the oldest coffee, if well kept, is the most palatable. It is however dull, and has a colour between red and yellow. But the reason of the preference given to the coffee of the first description is, probably, that in this state it is better able to resist the great alteration which it suffers in the passage home. I remember to have seen, at a merchant's in the town of Nantz, upwards of an hundred samples of coffee, among which he pretended that many were of the first quality; though certainly, at the market of Cape François or Port-au-Prince, the very best of them would not have been allowed rank in the third.

The

The coffee of the first quality always bears a penny (*sol*) more in price than the second; and when coffee is sold at twenty sols per pound, this amounts to five per cent. Hence it becomes an object to cure it in the best manner.

CHAP. II.

I shall take notice of the different modes of Preparation. The last and most accurate is the most proper for attaining the finest market quality; because, as the desiccation is quick, it better disengages all fermentable matters; and it is a chymical rule generally known, that desiccation should be quick, and crystallization slow. The reputation of the Borgne coffee belongs to this method of preparation, of which the first trials were early made in that district; for neither its land nor its climate are superior to others. The small size of the grain was only remarkable when the plantations were in the lower grounds; but this certainly affords no proof of a good soil. However custom, that second queen of the world, keeps up that character, though the plantations on the high mountains bear at present as large coffee as any where else; and though in every other part of the island, those planters who have adopted the method of Borgne, make as fine coffee as the inhabitants of that district.

3. Different Preparations.

It was the original method of preparing, to dry the coffee, as they term it, *in Cherries*; viz. as it is taken from the tree; and indeed this is still followed by great numbers, either from want of water, and misapplied œconomy in saving the expence of supplying it, or from the mere force of habit, and perhaps from the idea of dispensing with some labour

4. In Cherries.

CHAP. II. labour of the negroes, and themselves with the expence of mills and basons. But the following explanations will evince their mistake.

It is obvious that the grain of coffee, being inclosed in its skin and pulp, the drying will be greatly more tedious, especially in rainy countries. In some few plantations the drying is performed upon the bare ground, which is still more intolerable; but even upon good platforms, as are now generally in use, it will remain much longer in its clammy moisture. It will ferment, and acquire a brown yellow hue; and sometimes even become mouldy. Besides, both the greater bulk, and the greater slowness in drying, require a greater proportion of expensive platforms, and more trouble and care in management.

However, for the sake of truth, I must mention two observations.

It is alledged that coffee dried in this manner is more heavy than when dried in parchments. I made the trial, under the circumstances most favourable to this opinion; and I really found that it weighed three per cent. more.

In the next place, an early crop, of about a thousand weight, having once taken me unawares, I was obliged, my bason being out of repair, to dry it in cherries. It proved to be of the first quality, and I sold it at thirty sols, which was then the highest price. But the weather happened to be perfectly dry, and I had a great proportion of platforms, so that this instance warrants no inference. I must also say, that however favourable the circumstances

cumstances were, the coffee, though spread very thin upon platforms, where thrice as much might have been laid, was not dry before twenty-one days; while it is in general perfectly so in six or seven days in parchment, even in much thicker beds.

From this instance it is obvious, that many more platforms are necessary to dry in cherries than in parchment. Add to this, that the platforms go rapidly into decay, from the fermentative acid gum dissolving the lime; and, even on the supposition that a gain of three per cent. weight were to be obtained generally, which I by no means am certain of, yet this mode of preparation will be found to be more expensive, toilsome, and inconvenient than the other. Lastly, it must be added, that the grinding and fanning are also more difficult.

Some pretend that the coffee dried in cherries is more palatable. That it may be somewhat improved by the pulp, in taste as it is in weight, I will not deny. But as no trial has given me demonstration of the fact, I believe that no one can judge of it except the nicest connoisseur; while the main object for a planter is the market quality, and the oeconomy of time and toil.

Yet if a planter wants to have coffee of the most perfect quality, either for himself or for his friends, he must set apart a number of his oldest trees, and not gather the fruit till it is ripened into dryness (which indeed is very hurtful to the trees). I believe that the Arabians in Yemen make in that manner their little harvests. The coffee, thus nourished upon

CHAP. II. upon the tree to the last moment, must certainly acquire every perfection it is capable of.

5.
Cow-dung.

The second method is variously modified, and in all its forms, is a remote and awkward imitation of the last. The cherries are either bruised and soaked in water to rottenness, or bruised without being soaked, or soaked without being bruised; and in those different states, are brought to dry upon the platforms.

Here there is the same waste of time, almost the same degree of fermentation, notwithstanding, in the first and last instances, the water may have dissolved some of the gum. It is obvious how unpleasant it must be to have, for six months in the year, an immense quantity of putrid nauseous stuff, constantly under the eye; a kind of stuff very properly stigmatized with the homely appellation of *cow-dung*, which it in reality resembles. The platforms, in this manner, are worn out speedily. The coffee acquires generally more yellow brown, than when dried by the former method; and it is more likely to take an indelible scent of mustiness. The only advantage is that the grinding will not be so hard, as when dried in cherries.

I have only described the two former proceedings, for the purpose of forewarning the planter against them.

6.
In parch-
ment.

I now will explain the last, and by far the best method, namely that of drying in parchment, as practised in the Borgne.

It is the first operation to strip the seed of its outer skin, leaving it clad with the parchment; and
this

this must not be postponed, because the cherries, CHAP. II.
 when heaped together, are disposed to run speedily
 into fermentation; in consequence of which the
 pulp may, in twenty-four hours, impart a yellow
 brown tinge to the seed.

This is called *to grate* (*Grayer*, in the Creole French idiom) because it is performed by a *grater-mill*, of which I shall try to give, as far as I can, a clear and full description. See Plate the sixth, containing the whole machine (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, exhibiting its four aspects) and its several distinct parts (in the other figures).

First the cherry coffee is laid upon a floor, above the mill, from which it falls, by little and little, into a hopper A. This being either sufficiently inclined, or put in motion by the mill, drops the coffee into the grater B. The structure of the mill is as follows.

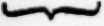
It is supported by a strong wooden frame G, three feet high, six in length, and about two in breadth. The principal pieces are a roller and grater B, two moveable pieces or chops C. D, a wire grate E, and a leaping frame F.

The roller B. is supported, at the fall of the hopper A, by an iron axletree, 1, running through its centre, which turns rapidly by means of two handles, upon two copper soles, H. fixed upon the sides of the great frame 2. The wooden roller B. is commonly fourteen inches in diameter, and about eighteen in length. If it is longer, as in water mills, the diameter is less.

The middle sixteen inches of the roller B. are

E

carefully

CHAP. II.  carefully covered with a strong plate of copper, pierced, as a grater, with a strong bodkin, so that every hole has, on the outside, three or four sharp points or asperities; the grater being accurately nailed upon the roller, all the asperities are turned outwards.

Moreover, five strong wooden pegs, 3. are fixed at equal distances, at each end of the roller, round the axletree 1.

The moveable pieces or chops are two pieces of wood, two feet and two inches long, five inches broad, and three inches high. One is superior C. the other inferior D. These are fixed in the great frame or support, by their ends 4, which are square; and, by means of wedges 5, they (the chops) may be placed somewhat nearer to, or farther from the roller B. The middle part of the chops, opposite to the grater, is cut in a sloping direction, C 6, D 6. And their edges, near the roller, are armed with a band of steel about a line thick, and nine or ten broad, between the points O.

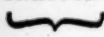
Now the sloping surface 6. of the superior chop C. falls towards the roller B.; that of the inferior D. falls, on the contrary, backwards, and upon the wire grate E. placed under it. The edge of the superior slope C 6. is placed at such exact distance from the roller B. that the cherries are bruised, without injury to the parchment, the seeds being suffered to pass, and finding their way through the interstices between the points of the grater, the skins and seeds then meet with the edge of the inferior slope o o, D. which is so close with the
grater

grater that the seeds cannot pass. They must of course fall back through the sloping declivity 6. upon the wire grate or sieve E. but the skins, which have been flattened, and are besides entangled by the asperities of the grater B. pass between it and the inferior chop D. ; and fall into a gutter I. behind the mill (a).

All the pieces before mentioned must be of mahogany, or other wood of the best sort.

The wire sieve E. is stretched upon a square long frame, and the holes are of such dimensions as to let the naked seeds pass. It is much inclined, and hangs, by the crooks 9, at the great frame G. and by the rods 7, at another similar frame H. namely the *leaping frame* F. which hangs also, by its middle, from the stirrup 8, and from the great frame of the mill G. By means of the two arms P. of the leaping frame, which are stretched out on both sides of the roller B. the wire grate sieve E. is put into brisk motion, by the pegs 3, fixed to the roller ; by which means the arms alternately sink and rise. Thus the seeds fall through the holes of the sieve E. into a gutter under the mill, the slope of which causes them to glide into the adjoining basin, where they will soak and be washed. The cherries which happen not to have been bruised, being too big to pass through the sieve, are tossed about till they fall down, at the back end K. of the mill, into a box, from which they are taken and put again into the hopper A.

(a) These skins kept and rotten are the best possible manure.

 N. is a key to turn the iron nuts of the handles and axletree, 1.

The grater-mill is liable to inconveniencies. If some of the points of the grater are sharper than the others, they bruise the parchment and the seed, which will leave a black mark. If any thing hard, as a small stone, happens to crush down any of the points, the cherries that meet them will not be bruised, or if they have been bruised, they will pass out, with the skins, behind, and consequently be lost. This must be prevented, by great watchfulness on the part of the negroes; and, when it does happen, the grater must be instantly mended or changed.

It is also evident that the chops must be exactly placed at the proper point. If the upper one is too near the grater, the seeds will be injured; if too far, the cherries will pass out unpeeled. If the next is too far, the seeds will pass out; but this can hardly be too near, provided it does not injure the points of the grater.

It is further necessary that a thread of water trickle constantly upon the grater, to assist the coffee in passing more readily. The figures L. M. are for that purpose; the former a gutter, the latter its support.

Eleven negroes are required for the service of a mill; eight to turn, four and four alternately; one to be upon the floor to feed the hopper, one to carry away the skins, and another to carry back the unpeeled cherries into the hopper. This hard work is performed in the evening, when the negroes

groes return from the field; but they like it, because it is rewarded with a small glass of rum.

A good hand mill, such as that above described, may pass thirty-three barrels of cherries in an hour. But I shall speak afterwards of the mule or water machines, which have been very usefully and ingeniously employed in this manufacture.

The second operation, is to wash out the gum from the seeds.

8.
Washing.

The coffee soaks for twenty-four hours in the basin, being frequently, during this time, turned and tossed with a rake (Plate 1st. fig. 2d.) the more water passes through the basin, and the more frequently it is tossed or turned, the more perfectly will it be washed; a point very material in the preparation. The skins which may have passed with it, when disentangled, rise to the surface, as also the empty and parched seeds. These are thrown (or, if the water runs, it carries them) into a smaller contiguous basin. These are known by the name of *stums*; being dried and cleaned apart, they pass as coffee of inferior quality.

Though soaking is hurtful to the naked seed, it is observable that covered with its parchment, it may be soaked any length of time, without being worse for it; as also the cherries; these however should be kept from fermenting, by the frequent addition of fresh running water.

Draining is the next work. In general, the coffee is carried by negroes, or by the water itself, to a draining platform, where it is spread out and exposed for twenty-four hours. There is also a

9.
Draining.

CHAP. II.

separate platform, of this sort, for the scums. Yet, when there is abundance of running water, the former may be spared.

10.
Drying.

From thence the coffee, (free from gum, and as white as ivory, if it has been well washed) is carried to the drying platform, where it is spread out, as soon as the dew of the night is evaporated. If rain has fallen during the night, the platforms must be swept, as also if they are dirty. Here it must be turned several times in the day with rakes.

As soon as the coffee has felt the sun, it must be carefully preserved from the smallest moisture; then it must be pushed, by means of rakes, shovels, and brooms, in the evening, or when rain threatens, into a round, formed with little walls or edges of masonry, placed in the middle of every platform, called here *bassicots*; where it must be well covered. Every morning it is spread out again; and when it is perfectly dry, friable upon chewing, and horn-green, it ought to be carried, while warm, into a close dry store. That the round or *bassicot* may be warmer during night, very little coffee is left in it during the day (*a*).

11.
Covering.

For want of something better, the coffee is sometimes covered, in the forms or *bassicots*, with plantain leaves.

12. Huts.

Besides this, round conical huts, made with rafters, and thatched, are used for this purpose; but they are so very heavy, that six stout negroes are

(*a*) The *bassicots* may as well be square as circular, provided they are in the middle of the platform, framed so as to be perfectly drained by the outlets, the interior angles being a little rounded.

required to move them; and the ends of the rafters, CHAP. II.
 moreover, injure the platforms.

Others make still more expensive Umbrellas of
 the same form, but framed of joiner's work, and covered with tarred sail cloth. These are certainly
 very light, but not free, in general, from the inconvenience of spoiling the plaster of the platforms; while their bulk gives so much hold to gusts of wind, that the forms are sometimes found unroofed in the morning, and the coffee soaked with rain. Besides this, they occupy a great space in the day, upon the platforms, if, as is often the case, there is no level ground near.

It is a still better way to cover the *bassicots* with
 Tarpawlings, such as are used on shipboard. These are kept down by eight heavy stones, at the angles and upon the folds, the coffee being heaped into a point underneath. The plaster does not suffer from them; the wind having no hold, they are not even so much as ruffled. It will be necessary, every year or second year, to give them a thin coat of tar. Some put a small round hamper underneath, to prevent them from touching the coffee; but the coffee, formed into a pyramid, will give sufficient descent to the tarpawling. Without ever using that precaution, I can assert that my coffee always preserved, till morning, a considerable degree of warmth under the tarpawlings.

The size of these ought to exceed the diameter of the *bassicots* by four feet. They are made of good sail cloth, well sewed, broad-hemmed, and with handles of rope at the angles. It must, how-

CHAP. II.

ever, be foreseen, that tarring will shorten them near a twelfth. Those of the greatest size, made in and brought from France, cost me nine or ten dollars, and I tarred them myself in the following manner.

First they were well soaked with sea-water. When quite dry I besmeared them with tallow moderately warm, and I left them two hours in the sunshine. Then I covered thinly both sides with hot tar, with a very small quantity of spirit of turpentine. Next I put them for two or three days in the sun; and lastly I dried them in the shade, which is a little tedious. Prepared in this manner they never break, and a small degree of heat makes them soft as woollen cloth.

It must however be remembered, that the tarpawlings must never be folded, but carried away and housed, rolled upon straight bamboo poles. Near the platforms also there ought to be four forks, seven feet high, with two beams, upon which the bamboos are placed during the day, so that the beams may bear thirty tarpawlings, more or less. Thus they are no ways cumbersome; and in summer, when the crop is at an end, they are safely lodged, and require no great room; whereas the bulky huts and umbrellas must remain without doors all the year round, exposed to the injuries of weather.

^{15.}
Grinding.

The remaining part of the preparation is much the same in every district, and on every plantation; the business being to prepare the dry coffee for sale.

This can seldom be done in crop time, as all the negroes are busy; even the intervals afford full employment

employment for all hands in weeding. However, if it can be accomplished at the time, some benefit will perhaps be found at market. But yet, if the storehouse is dry, the parchment coffee will keep above twelve months without any alteration; that dried in cherries will keep for a great number of years.

Now suppose that coffee must be peeled for market; a certain quantity taken from the store is laid for two or three hours upon a warm platform, and spread very thin. Eight or ten bagfulls are peeled at once, according to the capacity of the mill. Ten bags produce five of clean coffee, or five hundred weight.

This engine is less complicated than the former. It is used in several manufactures in Europe; for instance, in grinding apples for cyder.

16.
Peeling-
mill.

In a circular trough A, (Plate 7.) about ten or twelve inches deep, and of the same breadth, and ten or twelve feet in diameter, made either of hard wood or of mason's work, and then paved with large flat stones, is placed a massy vertical grinder, or wheel, B, of the heaviest wood, about six feet high, twelve or fourteen inches thick in the centre, and about four in the circumference. An axletree, or tail C, passes through it; one end is fixed in the centre of the trough, so as to be capable of turning; the mules are tied to the other, and turn the wheel forwards upon the axletree. Thus the coffee is ground round the trough or orbit.

First, a proportion must be observed in the reciprocal distance from the centre to the wheel, and
from

from this to the other end of the axletree; because the lever of resistance is in the former, and the lever of action is in the latter. Accordingly, that the draught be not too hard, the latter distance must be more than double the former. Driving at a brisk trot, a thousand weight of net coffee may be ground in one hour and a half at most.

Next, it is commonly supposed that the trough must be wider upwards than at the bottom, that the coffee may the better fall under the wheel. (Besides, there is a fork D, fastened behind, which pushes it to the middle as the wheel goes on.) I have experienced the contrary. I myself caused to be made a trough of mahogany, with parallel sides, where the fork brought the coffee to the middle so perfectly, that before the coffee was half ground, nothing but dust was to be found in the angles.

Here the hydraulic engine is also applied.

A few planters, for want of a mill, grind with pestles in a long trough, which is tedious and laborious.

The mill breaks the parchment only, never the seed.

If bad weather comes on after the grinding, the coffee ought to be left in the chaff. This absorbs the dampness, and keeps the coffee, for a few days, without alteration.

17.
Fanning.

Next the coffee is winnowed, sometimes in wind, with wooden porringers or shovels; but more properly by a Fan-mill, such as those used in Europe for winnowing corn, and which industrious arti-

ficers

ficers have considerably improved for the use of this manufacture. CHAP. II.

The Winnowing-mill consists of a fan, made with four plates of tin, or thin planks, mounted upon an axletree A, (Plate 7.) at the end of which is a tooth-wheel E. Another wheel D. makes it turn with increased velocity, when worked by a negroe, by means of a handle P. The whole engine is inclosed in a chest, opened only at the end N, and in g. The coffee and chaff fall together from the hopper G, through a hole o, upon a sieve B, which, together with the other sieve C, is set in motion by the string L, by means of an oval pulley E, and of the wooden spring M. The rubbish and unbruised seeds are tossed into the gutter N, and from thence into a barrel. But the good coffee falls through the sieve B, upon the thicker sieve C, where it slides along into a box F, as the chaff, meanwhile, is entirely blown away through the open end N (a).

18. Winnowing-mill.

When the coffee is winnowed, it is passed through hand-sieves (Plate I. fig. 11.) for the purpose of separating the small round cherries which remain still unbruised. Then it is picked upon large tables, where all the black or broken seeds, as well as gravel, are picked out. The cherries are peeled again, and the broken or spotted seeds make coffee of a base quality, which is sold under the name of *picking*. It is observable that merchants are more

19. Picking.

(a) The chaff must not be kept as the skins. It is of a very dry nature. It makes but an overwarm burning manure, and that after a great number of years.

nice

CHAP. II. nice about the cleanness of coffee, when the demand
 at the market is less.

20.
Tables.

The Tables will be more convenient if edged with a lath about an inch high, and if there is a bottomless box A, (Plate 1. fig. 12.) in the middle, supported upon small triangles, with feet two inches high. The coffee is put into the box, and the pickers lay hold of it as it slides underneath in B. Before each of them is a hole C, under which a bag is hung, and kept open by crooked nails; as they pick it they throw it into the bags, which are the same in which it is carried to the market.

There must be separate places in the magazine for the *scums* and the *picking*. It is almost needless to say that the *scums* are ground, winnowed, and picked for sale in the same manner, but after the sale of the finer coffee.

When the coffee is perfectly dressed, some planters put it again under the peeling-wheel for half a dozen of turns; which makes its appearance brighter, especially if the trough is very smooth and polished.

After this, as soon as possible, the bags are weighed, tied up, and sealed, ready to be sent to town. Great care must be taken that they be not wet in the way.

27.
Coffee-
man,

A careful intelligent negroe must be trained up, so as to have perfect knowledge of the manufacture, in all its parts. It is particularly in his province to watch the mills, platforms, basons, picking (a),

(a) Each negroe is required to pick a hundred pounds of coffee per day.

and

and to observe the appearance of threatening rain when the coffee is spread out.

All this work of preparation is performed by the house servants, the young people who do not go to the field, the women with child, or the nurses. Lastly, the servant maids and hospital attendants assist to sweep the coffee in or out of the *bassicots*.

All these premises being well understood, one perceives the buildings necessary for the manufacture: a grater-mill house with its basons; the draining and drying platforms; perhaps a cistern to supply the want of water. A grinding-mill house, where the fan may find a place. This is somewhat expensive, as it should be six-and-thirty feet diameter, or in square. Sometimes the grinding-mill is uncovered, but this is inconvenient in damp weather. Lastly, a coffee-house or store, with rooms for the different purposes of the manufacture.

But before these Works are undertaken (and still more the dwelling houses) the materials must be provided, and artificers procured; a sufficient number of plantations (not excessive) must have been previously made, refraining from attempting any more while building is going on.

22.
Buildings.

As it is my object to plan a solid and comfortable settlement, I suppose the planter is in easy circumstances, has already forty or fifty negroes, and is able to increase even that number; in short, that he has in view an estate of a hundred or a hundred and

CHAP. II. and fifty thousand pounds of coffee a year. I shall proceed upon this supposition, taking care that those who cannot accomplish so much, may yet find information in what they wish to perform.

A man of worth and character, owner of land of good quality, will not fail to find advances for his purposes; and I shall always advise a man of that description (and indeed no other) to make the best of his credit. His engagements may serve to bind him faster to oeconomy, while the advantage of his credit may conduct him to fortune. Upon the whole, nothing must be spared in expense contributing to solidity, duration, and convenience of establishments; but every appearance of luxury and superfluity must be removed from the works of the sober husbandman. It is only when all things necessary are done, when all debts are paid off, when the family is not numerous, and when the planter is resolved to live and die upon his estate, that he may be allowed to indulge expensive tastes, and to beautify his own retreat.

The provident husbandman will not fail to foresee and prepare himself for this period from the earliest times. His chief skill must be exerted to make the best of time, without distressing his negroes; and to prevent, as much as he can, all those extraordinary toils which attend building, and particularly the work of masons.

23.
Stone.

Thus, from the very first outset, he ought to take care to accumulate Stone upon the place of settlement. For that purpose it is enough that every negroe, returning from the field, bring with him

one

one or two large stones, or a basket of small ones. It is only for want of this precaution, or where this precaution has been insufficient, that the whole gang comes to be employed, for two days or more occasionally, to supply the masons. It is then very material to use wheelbarrows. By help of them triple work is performed. If the ground admits of it, a tumbrel ought even to be provided and employed, as two mules and two negroes would then do as much as twenty men.

The stones must be selected, not taken at random. Free-stone, granite, and hard lime-stone, if in abundance, ought to be preferred. There is a species of gravel-stone, which has apparently a degree of hardness when first dug up, but which moulders away in the open air: This should never be employed, except in works under ground. Round smooth stones also are less proper than those that are rough, sharp, and angular. If necessary, some quarry must be looked for, and a couple of stout negroes, with proper tools, employed to work it. But if mining with gunpowder be necessary, the attendance of some person of trust and experience must be procured, to guard against accidents. In general, however, stones of very good quality are found above ground, or, at least, in the deep valleys, or beds of torrents. The largest are the most profitable, as they save mortar.

The best Sand is found in the beds of rivers; and, in greater abundance, after floods. When gathered, it must be passed through a hurdle, and laid in heaps beyond the reach of water. The gravel separated

24.
Sand.

CHAP. II.

separated from it may be employed in making the platforms. In defect of river sand, veins are occasionally found in almost all descriptions of land. These are improperly called *puzzolana*. When the grain is coarse, rough, and dry between the fingers, it is quite as good as river sand. Lastly, in defect of all these, brick-cement-kilns must be made in the same manner as lime-kilns, of which I am going to speak.

25.
Lime.

Lime also must be prepared early. The great lime-kilns are generally known, and I shall only give a short sketch of them. These are round towers A, (Plate 8. fig. 1.) dug on the side of a hill, furnished with an ash-pot B, and a mouth or opening C. to throw the wood through. They ought to be regularly built around with stone walls, though sometimes the fore part only is built. Some of these are large enough to burn at once four thousand barrels of lime, at the expence of sixty or seventy cords of wood. They can, however, only be undertaken where there is a great number of hands, and under the management of a skilful man, chiefly where one is obliged to burn a certain sort of lime-stone of a grey colour, streaked with white veins, very heavy and hard, and apt to crack with strong heat. It sometimes even breaks the vault D, and causes all the stone above to fall into the ash-pot, so that every thing is lost. For this reason, experience and skill are required to manage the gradual action of the fire.

26.
Lime-stone.

I shall explain methods more easy and less expensive than the above; but first mention the different species of Lime-stone.

1. That

1°. That which I have just now described, though it is burned with difficulty, makes excellent lime.

2°. That which is called in this country *roseades*, a sort of white porous tartar, like pumice-stone. It is formed in ravines, seeming to originate from the dregs of waters of a certain quality (a).

3°. Another kind, snow-white, very light and soft, is found at the surface of certain grounds, upon harder beds. This and the former burn very easily.

4°. The best of all is white, heavy, hard, brittle, and is called here *ravelstone*, on account of the great ruggedness of its surfaces.

Lime-stones are easily known by the application of a strong acid liquor, which causes them to dissolve, and boil into a froth. Spirit of vitriol is the surest criterion. Lemon-juice will also generally answer the purpose.

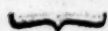
There are two speedy and easy methods of making lime, in both of which the stone must be broken into minute pieces, if the stones of the fourth, and particularly of the first quality, are employed. This must be done on new-cleared ground, before the wood is burned, that it may serve for the purpose. A flat place also must be chosen upon the spot.

First, in the *Caraib* way. A ditch D (Plate 8. fig. 2.) is dug about eighteen inches in depth and width, and longer by two feet at each end than the intended length of the kiln. Suppose twenty-two feet. It is filled with dry small wood, straw, and

27.
Caraib-
kiln.

(a) It is obvious this water is none of the best to drink.

CHAP. II.



other combustible matters. Over this is laid a thick layer of large wood, A, eighteen inches high, and eighteen feet square; and over this again a layer of stones, B, one foot high. Alternately follow a layer of wood, A, and a layer of stones, B, of the same depth, gradually contracting in circumference to the height of eight or nine feet. The layers of stones must be confined all round by rows of large trunks or billets. The largest pieces of wood must be in the interior layers, and all must be intermixed with small splinters of dry wood. Lastly, the largest stones must be towards the middle.

In calm weather both ends of the ditch D. are lighted up. The fire spreads, and continues to burn till the materials are consumed.

28.
English-
kilns.

Next in the *English way*, as they call it.

A hole A. (Plate 8. fig. 3.) is dug in a circular form, of a diameter not exceeding thirty feet, but always three feet deep. A strong pole, B, fifteen feet high, is set up in the centre, surrounded with straw, branches, and splinters of dry wood, tied round, from the ground to the top, in the manner of faggots, about eighteen inches thick. Then billets of green wood, C, six feet long, and the thickest that can be managed, are arranged vertically round the hole at the circumference, making a circle three feet broad, the place from which to the pole is filled with other billets, not so large, three feet long, and also erect. As the work goes on, all the empty intervals are filled with splinters of dry wood, vertically disposed. It is obvious that, the outward billets being longer by three feet, the furnace now presents the appearance of a large pot, twenty-four feet

feet broad. Next, the earth which has been dug out must be heaped around, E, as high as the billets, both to keep them up and to shut out the air. Then the furnace is filled with stones (the largest below and in the center) in a pyramidal form, to the height almost of the pole. If tar can be got, a small portion of it should be poured upon the faggot. Fire is set to it. It will spread from above below, and next to the circumference, and the furnace will burn of itself. CHAP. XI.

In this manner a thousand barrels of lime may be burned at once; and, in the former, five or six hundred. When it is cold it should be carried under a well-covered hut (taking care to pick out the coals and unburned stones) because lime is spoiled by rain. If this is not done, it is put into a great pit, moistened into a soft paste, and covered with six inches of sand. In this manner it is perhaps better kept than in any other way.

If lime can be purchased in the neighbourhood it is a very lucky circumstance; and indeed the purchasing is indispensable where (as it sometimes happens) there is no lime-stone upon the land; but the opportunity of transporting it must be watched, rain being carefully avoided, for fear of burning the mules. It is even necessary to put large mats under the bags; otherwise these would touch the hair, and, when the mules sweat, injury would happen.

As Cement makes a more lasting and better mortar for the basons, some of it ought to be prepared in every lime-kiln: for that purpose cakes of clay, mingled with a little sand, are kneaded as bricks,

29.
Cement.

CHAP. II. and, when dried under the shade, are arranged upon
 the surface of the furnace (C, fig. 2. F, fig. 3. Plate 8.) before it is lighted up. When cement is wanted, these are powdered and sifted.

Where a furnace has been made, the ground must be levelled again, and coffee trees planted upon the spot with some more care than elsewhere; a furnace should be made at every plantation, except the first, where no time can be spared from the necessity of securing vegetable provisions.

30.
Artificers.

If the planter has not Artificers of his own, and it is probable he has not, it being seldom that slaves are skilful enough for works of difficulty; or if he cannot, by his own industry, do without them; artificers may easily be found, and bargains must be previously made with them: *viz.* with the masons, at so much per fathom of work; with the carpenters, who are in general also tilers, at a stated price by the month or year, or by job; lastly, with the shingle-makers, at so much per thousand. There are some who have negroes of their own; these must be preferred, because otherwise they will require to be supplied with some of the planter's. These agreements must be made in writing, well explained, with a device and chart to prevent all disputes. It is almost always the planter's business to bring the timber, shingles, and other materials, within reach of the artificers, by his own negroes.

31.
Timber.

The Timber is squared in the wood by the carpenter; but the trunks or logs that are ready cut among the plantations must be first employed. This perhaps may spoil some coffee-trees; but, when the timber is taken away, the ground is levelled,

levelled, and may be planted again, so that no empty places be left. CHAP. II.

It being generally extremely difficult to procure slates and tiles, Shingles are the only covering which should be permitted in permanent buildings, either on account of duration, or on account of fire; but whether they are to be purchased and brought from a distance, or made by hired artificers upon the estate, they are very expensive. Besides, these artificers, for their own ease and benefit, make a wanton waste of wood. But this inconvenience may be almost entirely prevented if the planter has or can find means of teaching a negroe of his own, who may be instructed to be an œconomist of wood. Such a negroe, with any common assistant, may plane, at least, two thousand shingles a week. Such being the case, no thatch should be employed. The shingles must be four or five lines thick, eighteen inches long, and six broad at most. If they were broader the sun would make them bend, and suffer the rain to penetrate. For the same reason they should not be employed before they are perfectly dry (a).

32.
Shingles.

Whatever ridicule may be attempted to be thrown upon vulgar observations, it is well proved by experience, that trees are in such a state of vegetation, or possess such a disposition of the juices in the Wane of the Moon, as renders them more durable when employed in domestic purposes; and though this operation of nature is not easily explained, no man of sense will deny but that the phenomenon is

33.
Moon's
Wane.

(a) As to Thatch, see Number 36. of this Chapter.

as possible as so many others, of the truth and existence of which no one doubts. Accordingly, notwithstanding the note of ridicule, I shall positively advise to cut wood and timber for planks, shingles, and inclosures, in the wane of the moon, even on the grounds designed for plantations.

It is needless to enter into a nomenclature of the different timbers which St. Domingo, and all the tropical islands, afford in great abundance, and of good quality; as the names of them are very variable, and would not be understood in another place. For the ground-works and posts the most incorruptible and hardest must be employed. For the upper works, as beams and rafters, those which have a long fibrous grain, and of the lightest kinds. This sort also does best for shingles and boards. The rosin trees are generally good for any thing. But some woods, which are known to become soon worm-eaten, must be rejected. The soft kinds should be put under shelter as soon as they are squared; otherwise the moisture spoils them before they are employed.

Boards ought to be sawed fourteen lines thick; and that they be perfectly dry, as well as the shingles, they ought to be placed in the smoke, under the roofs of the negroe houses, for five or six months.

The artificers must be strictly watched, both for the proper conception and exact execution of the plans, as well as for the employment of the best materials, the rejection of the spoiled timber, and the perfection of the workmanship itself.

The buildings are either of Mason's, or of carpenter's work. CHAP. II.

For the former, the mortar must consist one third of lime, and two thirds of sand. But the proportion of lime is required to be somewhat greater in plastering the basons and platforms. Cement will also be better than sand in the basons; and the proportion of lime may be diminished in the underground works. The foundations of walls must always be deep in proportion to their height. It is the best masonry where mortar is used freely, well intermingled with small stones amid the larger ones. Terrace-walls require to have slopes; and this in proportion to the height. Small holes must likewise be left, at proper places and distances, as outlets for air and water. These walls, for the sake of oeconomy, may be made with clay instead of mortar, or with dry stone; but then they must be thicker, have greater slope, and be parjetted, in dry weather, with good mortar. With regard to houses, as it is very difficult in the mountains to procure brick for the windows, doors, and arches, they are usually made of the best timber, well fastened with the masonry.

Carpenters also do joiner's plain work, as the making of doors, windows, floors, and the like, as also the tiler's work; except where the houses are thatched, which is done by the negroes. 34.
Mason's-
work.

Here there are two ways of building. One where the posts are planted in the ground, and another where they are raised up with tenons and mortises, upon horizontal ground pieces of timber

(in French, *saulages*) supported by a small wall, more or less high, and of proportionable thickness.

The former way is less expensive, and best adapted for the negroe-houses, stables, and out-houses. Here the hardest and most durable timber must be used for the posts. This form is convenient, because the posts, in the event of their rotting, may be easily changed for new ones, without shaking the building. The posts must be sunk three feet into the ground; and if they are hardened in the fire they will last better.

In the latter way, the ground timber, being raised upon a wall, lasts longer; and longer still if bricks are placed at small distances between it and the wall, admitting of the passage of the air. This way of building is more neat; and, as the floor may be raised at the level of the walls (*a*), the houses are less damp and more healthy, especially if, instead of being full paved with tiles or bricks, or plastered, as the platforms, (which is often the case) they are floored with planks or boards, with a free admission of air underneath; as is indispensably necessary in the coffee-stores.

All the houses of carpenter's work are closed around, as well as the several rooms separated, either by thin walls between the posts, or by boards of palm-tree or of other timber. The negroe-houses, and others of a similar kind, are wattled between the posts. The best wattling is made with the bark of the lesser palm-tree (of which I have

(*a*) This may also be effected in the former mode of building, by means of little walls between the posts.

spoken in a former place); and if it is made with nicety, well fastened, parjetted with good mortar, and whitened with lime, it may be employed, in preference of boards, in any house. For want of the small palm-tree, thin staves of wood may, I believe, be substituted with success, with the same precautions.

Such are the general observations. I shall beg leave to add, that the houses must be placed, as much as the place will allow, at such distance that the communication of accidental fire may be prevented; and, I must also repeat, within the eye, ear, and command of the master. The exactness and accuracy of the manufacture, the attendance of the hospital, the daily and nightly order and police of the negroe-houses, and the care of the cattle of every kind, depend entirely upon the master's presence and vigilance. It is however proper that his own dwelling-house be removed from the current of offensive exhalations, and that it be, for instance, windward of the hospital and stables.

Now I proceed to describe, more particularly, the different Buildings; and first the grater-mill-house, with its appurtenances, as the basons, draining platforms; ponds and cisterns, if these are necessary, from scarcity or absolute want of running water.

36. Frame
of the
Buildings.

Between thirty and forty thousand weight of coffee will employ a Grater-mill for the season. I speak of hand-mills. I shall subjoin the sketch of a house, forty feet in length, and twenty in breadth, where four mills may be managed with ease and convenience. (Plate 9.)

37.
Grater-
mill-house.

The

The floor or garret in which the coffee is first laid up, and from which it falls into the mills, A, through wooden gutters of six inches square, must be very strong. In very steep grounds, there being a good terrace-wall, it may at one end be close to the cut of the hill, so that the negroes may get into the garret on a level. Otherwise stairs (5.) are required; for it is necessary that the access and egress be easy and free.

The mills are placed upon their gutters B, which fall with a slope into a bason, C. The skins fall into another gutter, G, from whence they are conveyed or carried backwards. Forwards are the basons. The coffee bason, C, must be large, and in a long square form; I suppose eight or ten feet square, for the annual produce of thirty or forty thousand weight. It must not be more than eighteen or twenty inches deep, so that the negro who turns the coffee may not have water much above his knees.

A small trickling or thread of water is necessary in each mill. The larger the quantity coming in from the conduit 1. 1. the better; for if the bason can be filled twice in twenty-four hours (and still more if in greater abundance) the coffee will thus be better washed. If the water is scarce upon the settlements, or if there is no running water, the defect must be supplied by means of a pond or cistern, so disposed as to receive more or less of the rain water which flows from the drying platforms; and then the mill-house and its appurtenances must, as it is obvious, be situated under the pond or cistern, and of course under the platforms, which makes the carriage

carriage of the coffee more toilsome; from the bason C. the water goes into the next lesser vessel D, with all the floating *scums*, through an outlet 3, which is always open. This bason has another outlet 4, with a small grate, through which nothing escapes but the superfluous water. Both basons have a sluice 2, fastened in the masonry, and when that is taken up, the water carries the coffee and the scums to their respective draining platforms E. F. shut with grates 6.

I now must explain in what manner all this may be best constructed; and first the Pond or Cistern, where these are unluckily necessary. They only differ in this, that the pond supplies a small quantity of running water, and only requires the addition of the water from one or two platforms; and of course need not be so wide as the cisterns, which are filled from all the platforms, there being no running water at all; however, as they must be built with the same nicety and solidity, with proper proportion to their width and depth, only differing in size, I shall explain the mode of constructing a cistern.

32.
Ponds and
Cisterns.

This is a great work, an immense quantity of materials being required in the building of a cistern; for it must hold water sufficient for the consumption of three or four weeks. The calculation is made by cubical masses; if the coffee bason contains three hundred cubical feet, the cistern ought to contain nine thousand; independant of other wants. I suppose a cistern forty feet square and twelve deep. It will contain about eighteen thousand eight hundred cubical feet. (Plate 10.)

The

The best form for a cistern is a perfect square, three sides of which should be cut in the ground, so that the fore wall only appears. This must be of a sloping form, as broad as the other three, and the basis almost double in thickness. The trenching is managed like all others; A number of negroes dig, others carry the earth in hampers or wheelbarrows, and throw it down the hill, taking care that the place designed for the mill-house and its appurtenances be not encumbered; and, if good stone is found in the trenching, that must be set apart for building.

When the trenching is complete, and the floor A, fig. 1, levelled, the foundations are dug around, three feet broad, only that on the fore part must be much larger and deeper than the others. They are then built up to the level of the floor. The two interior feet of the work are built with sand and lime mortar, the foot near the perpendicular trenched ground, with clay mortar. But the whole fore wall is made as the inside. The floor is now framed, *viz.* first a foot deep with stones and clay mortar, and two feet above with lime and sand mortar, with an almost insensible declivity towards the outlet D. Then the four walls are raised up, in the same manner as the foundations. I need not say that the best stone, lime, mortar, and workmanship are required every where. The angles must be built round at the inside, for greater firmness, it being there that the water makes the greatest effort.

The cistern is filled with the rain falling from the platforms F, through gutters and the small basins E, three

E, three or four feet square, and two in depth, where the sand subsides, and the floating rubbish is stopped by means of a grate. Above the cistern wall, there is a trench or outlet K, three or four inches deep; if there is a superabundance of water, a rail H. must be placed all round the cistern, to prevent the children from falling into it, if it is not covered.

By means of two pillars built in the cistern, it may be covered with two parallel roofs, or with a floor of beams and boards, which may drain into the cistern itself.

The water is drawn up and conveyed to the mills and into the basons, through a pipe or cock, D. 1, placed in the fore wall. But a *sucker* is more convenient than a plain pipe, and less expensive than a cock. For this purpose, a square hole, six inches wide and deep, is made in the floor D, at the upper end of a pipe running through the fore wall D. 1.; this hole is shut with a paving stone, (fig. 3.) a square piece of brass, K, passes the stone, and is pierced with an hole L, in the form of an inverted cone. Another piece of the same metal and figure, M, about an inch in diameter at the lower end, shuts the hole hermetically, and by means of a ring fastened to it, and of a small chain or string, it may be taken out perpendicularly from above the cistern wall. The pressure of the water, together with the resistance of the air below, prevents the least drop of water from trickling out. In order to make it flow, the sluice is drawn up by the string, and when let fall, the suction of the water draws it into the hole, which is again shut.

The

The water of such a cistern will never be very clear, and if people are obliged to drink it, it is proper it should be filtered, by means of a syphon filled with sand. A well B, four feet deep, is dug at the bottom of the cistern, and built exactly with the same solidity and precautions; and without it, another well C, as high as the cistern walls, with a communication under the wall through a large opening L (fig. 2.); both wells are filled to the same height G, as well as the opening L, with sand well washed and clean. It is obvious, that the water must filtrate through the sand, and rise to its level in the well C, where it will be drawn up perfectly limpid and pure (*a*).

I return to the construction of the cistern. When the walls and floor are dry, the whole is first rough cast, and then plastered, exactly in the same manner, and with the same precautions, as will be explained, No. 46 and 47, for the platforms. But here mortar made with cement will be better than that made with sand; and the following is a still better cement, if it can be procured.

One hundred and twenty pounds of good tile cement well burnt, powdered, and sifted, one hundred pounds of the best lime, six pounds of walnut oil, six pounds of liquid ox blood; the whole well mixed and beat together, and employed as soon as it is made.

Any one may be sensible that, if by any means, a spring of water can be conveyed, even from a

(*a*) The first water must not be drank, being necessarily impregnated with lime.

great distance, the expense will be short of that of a cistern, which is besides but a precarious resource.

I return to the other more usual establishments.

It matters little how the Mill-house be framed, either in mason's or in carpenter's work, as above mentioned. The requisites are, solidity, and the strength of the floor above; the boards also must be joined by smooth surfaces, not grooved, that the juice of the cherries may find its way through the joinings. The house must be close, as the negroes will be overheated in cold evenings, and yet the access free for passage into the mills, for carrying out the skins, or entering into the garret. Where the ground has descent, the gutter G. (Plate 9.) for the skins, may be so deep on the outer end, that the trouble of taking them away may be delayed till the morning. The house must be covered with shingles, because the work is done by candle light, and thatch is more liable to be set on fire; for the same reason the negroes ought not to be suffered to go up into the garret with lighted pipes.

39.
Frame of
the Mill-
house.

The gutters B, where the coffee falls from the mills into the basons, must be as steep as the place will permit (a). Both the basons or vessels, and gutters must be bottomed with a bed of good masonry, eighteen inches deep, at least as high as the water rises into the gutter. The whole is usually rough cast and plastered, in the manner of a cistern or platform. But as the acid gum, and the tossing of the coffee with wooden tools, spoil the

40. Gut-
ters and
Basons,

(a) Boards are placed over them where the negroes stand to turn the mills.

plaster

CHAP. II.

plaster in a very short time, it is better to pave with square bricks and cement mortar, at the bottom, as well as at the sides. This will be easily performed, if the walls are made to slope gently. The walls must be only fifteen or eighteen inches thick, and the floor must be inclined to the sluice from all sides. Stone or marble will not do so well as brick for paving, because they are, in general, of an alkaline nature; and the acidity will corrode them in a short time.

The *scum-vessel* must be contiguous to the other, and smaller by two thirds. The intermediate wall has, on the summit, a gutter, through which the water and *scums* run into the small vessel, which has an outlet with a grate, that the water may run out, and the scums be stopped. It is framed exactly as the other, only not quite so high.

47.
Sluices.

The main outlets of the vessels, 2. Plate 9, are in general wooden pipes with stopples; but *sluices* are more convenient. They consist of a frame of the best dry wood, fastened into the mason-work; with large grooves on the inside. A thin board goes through the groove; and shuts the vessel. The upper part of the board is strengthened, on both sides, with iron plates hollowed, and through the hole, a little lever serves to draw the stopple board up. If the stopples, in the grooves, are almost imperceptibly less wide at the lower than at the upper part, they will be more easily drawn up by a single effort. A little tallow is now and then put into the grooves, both to make them shut better, and to make the movements easier. The frame and stopples may be tarred before they are

are placed. Sometimes there are two stopples, one of which is a thick sieve, to let the water run out, without the coffee being suffered to pass. By this means the water is changed.

Both the draining platforms are made exactly as the others, which I shall explain in the next article. Only the little walled borders which inclose them, must be so high that the platform may hold the whole contents of the bason. The fore borders must have outlets (6, Plate 9.) with grates, to suffer the water to pass, and to prevent the coffee from escaping. Lastly, these platforms must be paved in the same manner as the basons, and for the same reasons, with a double declivity to each side and forwards, from the sluice to the outlets, so that the coffee may be spread out by the impulse of the water.

42.
Draining
Platforms.

The draining platforms, if the place permits of it, must be contiguous to the others (but that is impossible where a pond or cistern afford the supply of water); in all cases, however, the communication between both must be easy, convenient, and paved, or at least kept so smooth and clean, that the seeds which fall from the hampers, as the coffee is carried along, may be picked up.

However, where there is great plenty of running water to clean the coffee perfectly, the main draining platform may be spared, because then, the coffee may be drained upon any of the platforms without spoiling them.

43.
Dispensed
with.

For that purpose, all the platforms are (as in Plate 4. K.) arranged under the bason, on both sides of a canal, through which the water flows

G

with

CHAP. II.

with the coffee; and by means of small sluices, some of which shut the canal forwards, and others open upon every platform, it appears that the coffee is conveyed to any of the platforms at pleasure. But then the lower borders must have their outlets shut with grates, as has been said of the draining platforms.

If the planter's circumstances are easy, he must at once make the above-mentioned works complete and permanent, preparing room for four mills, which he will procure, one after another, as his crops make them necessary; those who cannot afford, at once, so much expense, must do the best they can.

44. Dry-
ing Plat-
forms.

With regard to Platforms or *barbacues* (as I understand they are termed in Jamaica) they need not be anticipated, and may be made every year, as the produce increases, but always after a general plan. Their outlines and figure depend, in a great measure, on the situation of the ground; the chief thing is to make the best of that situation, so as to form the most extensive surface at the least expense.

I have already mentioned reducing the ground to the level, which is almost always a necessary labour (as well as in other settlements) it would in fact be better to cut all the platforms to a level; but, where the declivity exceeds two or three feet for each platform, cutting them one above the other in amphitheatre is less expensive; (a) and, where the grater-mill is above and the store below the

(a) See Plate 5, where the declivity is five feet for two platforms; o. o. platforms,

platforms, it is nearly as convenient. The earth is thrown down on both sides, and may thus form an additional flat space, fit for other services, as walks, plantations of grass, and the like, but not for building. Sometimes, instead of cutting away the ground, the level must be raised with terrace walls, of which I have already taken notice. Here I shall only add, that those places must always be filled up with quickstone, well settled and beaten with heavy rammers, (Plate 1. fig. 13.); if they are filled with earth or gravel, they will sink, even at the distance of twenty years, and thereby break the mason's work which may be upon them.

The most convenient and the best looking figures of the platform, is a perfect square, the width from thirty to forty feet. It is however observable that platforms should be, in some measure, calculated according to the quantity of coffee which is gathered in one day, that they may be filled at once. The common average for drying parchment coffee, is a pound of sixteen ounces for a French square foot; so that a square of thirty feet will dry nine hundred pounds; one of forty, sixteen hundred, and so on. Upon the supposition that seven days are required for drying a batch of coffee, it is easy to calculate how many platforms will be necessary for the produce of the year. In twenty-eight days, a square platform of forty feet will serve to dry six thousand four hundred pounds. Thus where crop time is longer, a less surface of platforms is necessary.

First the borders are laid; *viz.* between the platforms with dry walls, and outwards with good mason-

CHAP. II. mason-work, both eighteen inches high, and the latter only having proportionable foundations. The floor is then laid, with a layer twelve inches thick of solid stone, well placed and beaten with heavy rammers (*a*). This layer is covered with three inches of coarse gravel, and again this with as much small gravel and sand, likewise well beaten; the whole with a gentle declivity, of one or two inches per six feet, outwardly. Now, to separate the platforms, and to inclose them outwards, edges are raised around, with small stone walls, six inches high, and the same in breadth. Those at the outside have a few openings to suffer the rain water to pass out. In the centre, a square or circular border is built, of the same height, with a similar drain; this is the *bassicot*, the diameter of which must be the fifth of the surface of the platform, six feet for thirty, eight for forty. But here, the inside of the border is gently sloping, and the outside is inclined longways, for at least three feet or more all around, that the coffee may hold fast to the very brink of the border, the declivity being formed with an addition of gravel and sand well beaten. Thus no room will be lost; and when the coffee is drawn in, the rakes will slide along the declivity, and not break the plaster of the border.

The planter ought to avoid, as much as possible, draining one platform through another. Those on the outside have their natural drain without, but those in the middle should be drained by means of

(*a*) The rammers, are billets six inches in breadth by eighteen inches in length, with a handle of four feet, as a pestle. See Plate 1, fig. 13.

an intermediate canal. Where there is a cistern, all the platforms must be surrounded with a canal, conveying the waters into the cistern. If any house is contiguous to the platforms, a small distance must be left between, to avoid the water falling from the roof; and, in general, no passage to and fro should be permitted through the platforms.

A very great quantity of mortar must have been prepared now, where lime is in a greater than usual proportion; it, as well as the sand, must be well sifted.

46. Plastering.

As early as the dawn of the morning, all the negroes are ready either to moisten and beat up the mortar, with their hoes, or to carry it in their large porringers or kettles. The masons lay a bed of it, fifteen or eighteen lines thick, first over the borders, and next over the floor, taking care previously to moisten. That layer or plaster must be as equal as possible; and, as soon as the sun is up, it must be immediately well covered with fresh plantain leaves,

When the plaster hath acquired sufficient consistence, six or eight negroes go upon it, their feet being well cleaned, and begin to beat it gently with rammers well polished; others behind them rub it with square glass bottles, taking care to reunite the cracks, to press down the risings, and to moisten it with water where necessary. The platform must not be uncovered, but as the beaters and polishers advance; and it must be covered again as soon as they pass. If the weather is cloudy, the work may be carried on all the day long; if otherwise, it must be stopped, and the platform thick

47. Icing or polishing.

CHAP. II.

covered over when the sun becomes powerful. Towards evening the work recommences, if there has been no rain, and continues mornings and evenings till finished; but when the plaster becomes too hard for the bottles to make impression, it is rubbed with *cocona nuts* (a), the smoothest that can be found. These must be thrown away as soon as they begin to be chafed or frayed. The cracks must still be sprinkled with water, in order to make them unite. Thus the work goes on every morning and evening, sometimes for a fortnight, and the platform is still uncovered only as the negroes go forward, and again covered as they pass, with a thick layer of plantain leaves, as exactly as possible. When sufficiently polished, so that the rubbing is no longer necessary, it is covered, and remains so for three or four weeks; it is then uncovered, and exposed night and day; but it will be well not to use it sooner than a fortnight (b).

I understand that platforms of boards are used, in some places, for want of stone and lime; but, in my opinion, these must be very defective.

At Martinico they have houses in form of *drawers*. The drawers are drawn out in the morning, and pushed in again in the evening. This may do in plantations of small produce, but hardly where ten or perhaps twenty thousand weight of coffee must be dried at once. Besides, no kind of

(a) The *cocona-nut* is a kind of pea, much broader than a dollar, and as thick as the finger, with a brown, polished, very hard skin, which is the produce of a wild creeping plant, growing in the woods and bushes.

(b) When a platform is entirely worn out, the old plaster is broken, and a new one made.

timber

timber can be so good as a platform of the preceding description, where the hardened feet of the negroes can hardly bear the heat, when the sun is powerful.

For the service of the platforms, a dozen of good soft brooms, a few shovels, and two dozen of rakes (Plate 1. fig. 13.) are necessary. The latter consist of a small board, as the bottom of a barrel, with a long stick for the handle.

Where the Coffee-house or store is separate from the master's dwelling-house, a building sixty-feet long, thirty-four feet wide, with galleries, will be sufficient for a produce of two hundred thousand weight a year; because the garret may be used in addition, A, (Plate 11.) where two small rooms, I. K, are spared for the *scums* and *pickings*.

48.
Coffee-
house.

The house is divided into three rooms, twenty feet square, for stores, B, and a gallery, C, seventy-eight feet long, and fourteen in breadth, where the coffee is sifted, culled, and weighed. The outer gallery, D. E, may serve for several uses; among which may be a small room, D, to contain the bags and other things of that kind; another, E, for the harnesses of mules and horses; another place for hanging the tarpawlings, &c.

The walls and partitions (even though they were of masonry) must be lined with boards, as well as the rafters in the garret, about ten feet high. The garret must be supported by strong beams, and by a great cross beam, through the three rooms B. The floor of the main body must be of beams and boards, quite as strong, with a free passage for air underneath, through openings all around, as G.

CHAP. II.

This building must be of mason's, or of the best carpenter's work, and covered with shingles, nailed over. There must be a pair of stairs, F, to go up into the garret.

It is necessary that all the storehouses have windows, so that, after rainy weather, the access of dry air may absorb the dampness. Independent, and I might say instead of this, I contrived to give a passage for light into my garret by some panes of glass, H, fastened with mastick upon wooden frames, well tarred, which, nailed upon two rafters, were placed amongst the shingles. These did very well both for light and for warmth. I had before experienced great inconvenience from dormer windows, and other like contrivances. I shall return to this article when I shall speak of the dwelling-house.

I must observe in general, that if this or any other building be on the south side of the platforms, it must be removed at ten or twelve feet distance, on account of the shade which it would cast in time of declination. The south-east and west of the platforms should always be out of the reach of shade.

49. Peeling and Winnowing-mills houses.

I have already described the Peeling and Winnowing-mills. They must be placed under cover. The former requires a very expensive building, as the diameter cannot be much less than thirty-six feet. It must be covered with shingles, and may be of good carpenter's work. I subjoin a plan (Plate 12.) of a house less expensive, as the main body is only twenty-four feet broad by thirty-six long; and by means of two galleries, B, of six feet, and of the arches, (fig. 2.) the mules go their circle

circle through both the main body and the galleries. CHAP. II.
 The winnowing-mill is placed in the end, C, of a gallery.

In other houses (as in fig. + Plate 5.) where the ground inclines, this mill is placed in a small gallery +, the floor of which is lower by five or six feet, so that the coffee is thrown from the peeling-mill into a large hopper above the fan.

All these settlements are susceptible of numberless little improvements, corresponding with the nature of the place, and which the master's industry may direct towards the greater convenience and ease of the operations.

It must not be forgotten that the engines require a great deal of care, and that the places of friction must be frequently greased with *mutton-suet*.

Before I proceed to the explanation of the other houses, I must speak of the engines by which the power of mules may be applied to the grater and winnowing-mills, as well as to the peeling-mill; and the power of water to the three together; but especially of the latter.

The principal additional pieces for the hydraulic engine (Plate 13.) consist of a water-wheel, A. 50. Water-mills.
 A trundle head, B, adapted to one end of the axletree C, puts in motion a horizontal wheel D, by means of teeth, the vertical axletree of which, E, turns the grinder of the peeling-mill round the trough, by means of a second axletree fastened to it, as in Plate 7. At the other end of the axletree C, there is a vertical doubly-indented wheel, F, which, by means of a cog-wheel H, and of the teeth I, turns the roller of the grater-mill with great

CHAP. II. great rapidity. Here also, by means of the second row of circular teeth K, and of the cog-wheel L, the motion is communicated to the winnowing-mill, being at the other end of the iron-bar M. N. are the collars, hinge, and plattens that support the iron ends O, of the vertical axletree E, upon a large piece of wood, P.; and Q. is another platten, supporting the end R. of the horizontal axletree C, whose other end S. is supported by the great frame of the grater-mill. T. is a wheel of iron, adapted to the grater-mill (and inclosed in a wooden box), which, by means of four heavy weights of lead, V, makes the motion of the roller more equal and uniform.

The Plate 14 is the plan, and the Plate 15 is the elevation of the whole water-mill.

Independent of the former pieces, which are marked in both with the same letters, U, (Plate 14.) is a conduit through which the water flows into the wheel A, to put the whole machine in motion. X. is the outlet of water, divided into two channels, with sluices, a. b, that the chaff and the red skins of coffee may be conveyed to different places. z. is the winnowing-mill, from which the chaff falls into X. b. Y. is a gutter, through which the red skins fall into the same outlet of waters X. a. &c. is the grater mill upon its gutter d. W. is the peeling-mill, with its grinding-wheel e, and its axletree f. g. is a pair of stairs, from the peeling-mill down to the grater-mill.

h. (Plate 15.) is a box, through which the cherries fall into the grater mill, from the garret, j, into which the negroes throw them from the other

garret l, into which they are brought up through the door m.

The Plate 16 exhibits the figure of a triple mill, ^{51. Mule-mills.} set in motion by Mules; almost all the pieces are the same, except that, instead of the water-wheel, the chief piece is the vertical axletree E. The whole contrivance is as follows. In the state exhibited in the figure, namely, to grind the coffee by means of the lever b. f, the collar c. f. turns round the axletree E, with the grinder e; and the vertical tree F. remains unmoved. For the operation of the grater-mill &x, and of the winnowing-mill z, the piece b. of the lever is taken out. The piece d. is put at the end of the lever A, and (as the mules are always tied in a.) then the wheel e. remains motionless. The axletree E. turns in the collar c. f, and puts in motion the horizontal wheel D, the axletree C. C, the vertical wheel K, the cog-wheel L; and, of course, the grater-mill &x, and the winnowing-mill z.

In both engines the three mills may act at once; but, by some easy means, the operation of one or two may be stopt, while two or while one turns. The quantity of water is always in proportion to the exertion.

It must be owned that the best workmanship is ^{52. Observations,} necessary for these engines; for I know nothing worse than a bad one. An engine well-known and experienced must be taken as a model; but though this be done, the correct execution is a nice matter. Here I cannot forbear naming one *Hoftein*, a skilful artificer at the Cape, who was deservedly celebrated for the strength and precision of his work.

These

CHAP. II. These engines also require greater care than the others.

It is generally conceived that these engines are expensive; but, upon correct calculation, they are less so than imagined. Hostein furnished a complete water-machine for the three operations, and even a spare roller and sieve for the grater-mill, and the two sluices of the basons, for two thousand dollars.

This engine will save four grater-mills, which cost nine-hundred and sixty dollars; a winnowing-mill, one hundred; a peeling-mill, with the house, which costs at least one thousand; the sluices at least thirty dollars. In all, two thousand and ninety dollars.

Add to this, that the engine will be lodged in a house of thirty-six feet by twenty, which may amount, with all its appendages, to four hundred dollars. But, as the canal must be larger, the expense may perhaps be two hundred dollars more, and the engine two thousand. In all, two thousand six hundred dollars. There is only, thus, an excess of five hundred and ten dollars.

Let us now consider the advantages of water-mills.

If every thing is arranged to the best advantage, a stout intelligent negroe, assisted by a boy of sixteen, may manage the whole work; whereas forty-four grown negroes are required for four hand-grater-mills. The labour of turning the winnowing-mill is also saved by this method. The work may be done at any time of the day; whereas the forty-four negroes are employed after the labour of the day,

at an unseasonable hour. All the negroes, every morning, must spend half an hour in carrying the coffee to the drying platforms; whereas, in this case, it may be conveyed by the water. Lastly, the water carries away the chaff, which is good for nothing; and may conduct to a close receptacle the skins, which are good for manure. Besides, the water-mill performs more than double the work, in a given time, of any common mill.

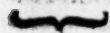
Thus, in any plantation which makes sixty thousand weight of coffee, I would not hesitate in going to the expense of a water-mill, where a sufficient quantity of water and a skilful mechanic can be found. Nay, the scantiness of water is sometimes supplied by a large pond, calculated to be filled by the spring in twenty-four hours, and to flow in time sufficient for the daily working of the machine. But this is somewhat precarious.

Nothing so much enlivens a country habitation as a plentiful current of limpid water, capable of being conveyed every where by proper distributions. It conduces to health, as well as cleanness. The play of an hydraulic machine is besides exceedingly amusing, and carries pleasing thoughts to the mind, since it spares toil to man.

When the manufacture is well established, the next thing is the hospital, then the negroe-houses; after these, the master's lodging and its appurtenances; lastly, the stables, poultry and pigeon-houses. But this is far from being attainable, either at once, or even without intermissions. To continue these works without interruption, would divert the negroes from the crop; nor ought the service

53. Other
Settlements.

CHAP. II.



vice of the artificers, at any time, cause the weedings and culture to be neglected. Carpenters may square and saw their timber in the wood at any time. But during crop the masons ought to cease working.

54.
Hospital.

An Hospital well designed must be raised a little above ground, and, if it is possible, paved with square bricks, for the sake of cleanliness; close at night, well aired in the day; placed under the eye of the master; situated in a yard, planted with some trees, where the sick may take an airing; and walled in, to prevent other negroes from conveying into it unwholesome food.

The Plate 17. is the plan of an hospital, to which the appendages of the master's house may be added, if the place requires it. The whole is a hundred feet by thirty.

It consists of a kitchen, A, a room for the hospital nurse, or doctress, B, another for women lying in, C. The other rooms must be double, that the sexes may be separated; namely, two for the venereal and cutaneous contagious disorders, D, two for sores and simple indispositions, E, and, lastly, two for fevers and other acute distempers, F.

The rooms of the women lying in, and of the feverish sick, must be furnished with little couches, with paliaffes, and the others with platforms of boards, a little inclined, and capable of being taken away in cleaning of the rooms. Upon these (E.) iron-bars of proportionable length may be fixed, with their padlocks and rings to confine those with sore legs, or occasionally to furnish means of correcting or confining the refractory. Running water

is also very convenient here, for bathing and other purposes. CHAP. II.

This house may be constructed of carpenter's work, closely shut, either with walls between the posts, or boards, or plastered wattling. The roof must be shingled on account of fire.

Some individuals will perhaps find the hospital too expensive. I beg them to consider that the plan may be executed for four hundred dollars at most, and that it concerns the life of human beings.

The Negroe-houses are of different lengths, according to the nature of the place; but they ought never to exceed one hundred feet, and fifty if they are thatched. They ought to be seven or eight feet high under the roof, and twenty feet wide. Every two negroes are allowed ten feet by twenty, which they divide into two rooms; one, A, (Plate 18.) where fire is made, the other, B, for sleeping. A gallery, six feet wide, might be added behind for their poultry, C. A free passage of air should be left throughout; otherwise, all the doors turned to the east or south. When hard timber can be got, these houses are made with posts sunk into the ground, which is less expensive, and permits of being renewed when spoiled. They must be only boarded with thick wattling, least they should be too warm; in which case, as there is always a number of fires, the negroes, going at once into the chill morning air, would catch colds and worse distempers. Some planters make, in every first room, A, a hearth of masonry, which lessens the danger of fire.

55.
Negroe-
houses.

If

CHAP. II.

36. Thatch
of different
kinds.

If shingles cannot be procured, of which I have spoken in a former article, these houses must be covered with Thatch. The best of all is the *lataneer*, and the leaves of the lesser palm tree. There is also a kind of wild corn, with silky ears, growing in waste lands, which may be employed (in French *berbe a panache*); some planters are obliged to plant large fields of sugar canes, the tops of which make very good thatch, but only when they are full grown up. Guinea grass and plantain leaves are also employed, but with very little advantage. The roofs made, as in the more essential houses, in the figure of a tomb, are less affected by the wind, but require more nicety in thatching.

A few planters suffer their negroes to make their own huts themselves, and in what form they please; but these will always be very incorrect, and perhaps insufficient. Besides, it seems that this building of houses, is one of the obligations of the master.

* 57.
Dwelling-
house.

If the planter wishes to have his own house distinct from the coffee-store, I shall entirely trust its form to his own fancy. I will only observe, that the house must be wholesome, convenient, and sufficiently capacious for the family. Some glass windows and a chimney are very comfortable, and hardly dispensable in the cool and rainy climates.

But, if the landlord wishes to attend chiefly to his manufacture, he may dwell under the same roof; but in such a manner that he be entirely separate, so as to be neither disturbed by noise, nor by the smoaking of tobacco. A large garret will make a capacious store; and, if the floor be well joined, there is no cause to fear dust, against which an additional

additional precaution may be taken ; viz. to tar the floor all over. I have a great propensity to this method, as the people employed in the work of sifting and picking are usually the most slothful and inattentive, and require constant watching. The Plate 19. is the plan of that building. I shall only, as to the store part, refer the reader to what I have said in the Number 48. Ch. II. and say again, that all the boards and shingles should be well dried in smoke before they are employed, and the latter nailed upon the roof.

By Outhouses are understood, a kitchen, G, (Plate 17.) with its chimney and oven g, and its furnaces ; a washing-house, H, with its chimney ; and two stores for the provisions of different kinds, I. K. All these articles may be brought together in the same house (and even joined with the hospital) where precautions must be taken to secure against fire.

58.
Outhouses.

For the preservation of the cattle in rainy cold weather, a stable is indispensable. It is built in the middle of a pen or yard, well inclosed, and the gates locked every night. The posts of the stable must be of hard wood, sunk into the ground ; it ought to be well paved with common stone, as well as the pen, and a little inclined, to convey the waters away. The best form is to divide the stable, lengthwise, by a manger, to both sides of which the beasts are tied in separate places ; or it is still better to make two mangers, A, (Plate 20.) and a passage, B, betwixt, for a person to carry in the grass. A quarter, C, is assigned for the mules ; another, D, for the master's horses ; another, E, for those of the

H

guests ;

59.
Stables.

CHAP. II.

guests; another, F, for the cows, and especially for the milch cows, with a place, G, inclosed for their calves. The stables should be shut against the north, the other sides may be open.

This house has no need of being high, but it must be at least twenty feet wide, and still more if the manger is double, as in Plate 20.

A little separate stable is also necessary in another place, but within reach, for the animals which have contagious distempers.

60.
Poultry-
yard, &c.

In a large Yard (M. Plate 4.) with a pond in the middle, three or four great trees surrounding it, a house must be made for the Poultry, with different rooms, well paved, for fowls of different kinds, as also one for the poultry wench. It need not be very extensive, because it is better that the poultry sleep upon the trees.

There must be also a pigeon-house, raised upon four pillars, ten or twelve feet high; either well plastered and glazed, or garnished with tin plates, to keep out the rats and mice. The house must be furnished with baskets, where the pigeons may lay their eggs; with a ladder, and a covered hopper for the corn.

The pillars must be walled round, two feet from the house; this place is designed for rabbits. It must be well paved, and holes must be made in the walls for the rabbits to burrow in.

In another place, four or five little lodges are made, with good stakes, and covered, for a hogsty.

All the last-mentioned buildings, the stables included, may be thatched. It is observed that pi-
geons,

geons, in particular, do better under thatch than under tiles, or even shingles.

The keepers of the provision and negroe-grounds have their huts by their posts. Huts likewise are made in every plantation-ground, that the negroes may find ready shelter when overtaken by heavy rains. But here the danger of a flash of lightning is frightful.

This puts it in my remembrance to mention Electric-bars, which have lately been used on the principal buildings in our plantations. The necessity of a good frame, and of keeping them in good order is generally known. (I. Plate 19).

61.
Electric-
bars.

I have mentioned, several times, the great convenience and necessity of conveying Water to the settlements. When the springs happen to be cleared of wood, they should be covered with thick plantations of plantain trees; for the bamboos, though they cast a deep shade, have the peculiarity of draining the springs. There is also another phenomenon, which probably depends on the nature of the ground; I have seen some springs increase, and others decrease almost to nothing, upon clearing the wood.

62.
Waters
and

Water-conduits, or Canals, usually run through a road, cut on purpose in the mountains. They are made either of boards, or with palm-trees, cut into two gutters, which are upon the ground, or supported with stakes and forks. But mason's work is, by all means, preferable, and requires less inclination of the road.

63.
Canals.

First, the road is levelled, and thus the possibility of conveying the water is ascertained, as also the

CHAP. II. regularity of the inclination of the canal. The *least* is sufficient; but the greater it is (within proper bounds) the narrower the canal will be, in order to convey a given quantity of water. With an inclination of six lines per six feet, or a fathom, a canal of six inches by four or five, will be enough for a water-mill.

When the road is made as even and exact as possible, the canal is begun at the settlement (two feet above the zenith of the water-wheel, if it is designed for a mill) upwards to the source. Outlets are left, in proper places underneath, either for the torrents, or for the rain flowing from the mountains. The best way to cover it is with flat stones, or palm-tree boards, which may be taken out in cleaning. At some distance from the spring it is well to make a basin, where the water may deposit the sand or gravel, and where all the floating bodies, as wood and leaves, may be detained by a grate. At the upper end, where the stream is admitted into the mouth of the canal, a good stone wall is made across the former, obliquely, so that the ordinary stream may be conveyed into the mouth, and that the overflowings may find their usual way, without injury to the cross-wall or canal. The best place for this is where the stream is confined between narrow banks, upon a bottom of rock.

64.
Gardens,
&c.

I shall entirely leave the Gardens, Orchards, Walks, and other things of that kind, respecting either the comfort or the embellishment of a country seat, to the taste and ingenuity of the master.

I have already mentioned the remarkable fitness of the soil and climate of our mountains for the growth

growth of greens, vegetables, and fruit trees of every sort. The country affords, perhaps, every thing for use and ornament, in the same degree as Europe. Spouts and cascades may be made as well. Almost all the flowers of Europe may be cultivated with success, and some wild indigenous shrubs blossom beautifully for a great part of the year. The finest hedge and covered walks may be made with lemon-trees, logwood, and still better of the cherry-tree of the West Indies. Abundance of pretty creeping plants are well appropriated for bowers; and thick and stately walks of that kind may be formed by an artful management of the bamboos (a).

Thus, in describing the preparation of the coffee, and the different settlements, I have accomplished, as well as I am able, my second object; and, as I kept myself within the bounds of convenience and solidity, those who wish to go nearer to magnificence, or those who cannot afford even so much as I have set down, may extend or contract my plan according to their views and circumstances, still building upon my foundations.

I now finish my task in this point, with recommending to the planter to preserve, with unceasing attention, the fabrick he has raised at great labour and expense, and never to delay repair till waste is become considerable. For that purpose, some negroes should be instructed in the different kinds of workmanship, at least skilful enough for the purpose of repair.

(a) I must mention also, that if the settlements are liable to great squalls of wind, rows of bamboos are a safe shelter.

It is only when all the settlements are completed that the planter can, with propriety, increase his plantations as he pleases. Before that, things may be calculated, so that the works which attend the business of building do not check the culture of the coffee, of which I am about to speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CULTURE OF THE COFFEE TREE, DURING
THE SEVERAL PERIODS OF ITS DURATION.

THE improvement and appropriation to our use of the productions of nature, is the general object of culture, with a view both to increase the quantity and ameliorate the quality. But the science of culture is like the science of medicine. In both, it is the general and particular object to assist nature, which, in such case, will gladly conspire with our exertions; but if thwarted, at least for a length of time and with rudeness, will be found rebellious. Hence a proper study of the plant, the object of our care, demands our first attention. We ought to make ourselves familiarly acquainted with its origin, its progress, its decay, its temperament, its disposition; I had almost said its habits and inclinations. In consequence, I beg leave to expatiate on some circumstantial particulars relative to this subject.

1. Culture
in general.

The original reproductive Sprout of the Coffee Tree is in the seed. Thus the bountiful hand of the Creator has multiplied it almost to infinity. Take a seed, and open its fissure or stigma, you will hardly perceive the sprout; it is indeed exceedingly delicate. If the seed is kept long in a state of siccidity, it withers into sterility, whereas, when it is green, it shoots out with wonderful ease and strength.

2.
Sprout.

3.
Growth.

Let the seed, with its parchment (*a*), be laid only upon a wet soil, you see it open itself a little. A pedicle peeps out, an extremity of which leans towards the ground. Here two radicles are seeking and soon grasp their nurse. The other extremity rears itself up, loaded with the whole seed. In a short time, two follicles, almost round, and of a thin yellow colour, unfold themselves, from the very substance of the seed, and shake off the parchment. The stigma or fissure seemed to mark their separation, on the flat side of the seed; and, on the round side, they seemed perfectly blended together; but now they part of themselves. Thus it is the seed itself which spreads out into these two follicles, which turn green by the contact of the air.

4. Sap-
plings and
Leaves.

From between them a small top rises. Its point is acute, and divides itself into two Leaves, of lanceolous form. The sappling rises again and again, still in the same manner, bearing its leaves two and two, or axillary, at equal distances, and every pair opposite to each other, above and below.

5.
Boughs.

When the sappling has several leaves, the two original follicles fall; when it is about twelve or fifteen inches high, the Boughs begin to make their appearance at the eye, close above the stem of the leaves. When these boughs, which originate from the trunk (and which may be distinguished as *primary*) have acquired strength, the leaves at their origin fall.

6.
Primary.

The sappling rises, always bearing leaves, and

(*a*) Germination also takes place from the whole cherry, as will be seen in the article of Nurserie, No 23.

afterwards

afterwards boughs above them, by pairs, or in axillary form, and opposite. These boughs lengthen themselves in the same manner and proportion; and as they grow, they always end, as the trunk, in a sharp point, which divides itself into two leaves, between which another point shoots out; that is, another pair of leaves, which also spread out at a proper distance, and so on.

In their turn, *secondary* branches shoot out, directly above every leaf of the primary ones. These make their growth as the former, and bear *tertiary* branches, if the tree is luxuriant. Where that goes farther, it is always in the same order.

7.
Secondary,


8.
Tertiary.

Here a material observation is necessary, as it is, in a great measure, the foundation of the whole system of lopping or pruning.

9.
Principle
of lopping.

The vertical sappling or trunk has been shown, bearing its boughs or primary branches, in opposite pairs; so that the inferior ones exhibit the figure of a cross with the superior, thus the four branches spreading in four different directions; and this is necessary, that the tree be garnished all round, without being embarrassed. Exactly from the same principle of avoiding encumbrance, the arrangement of the secondary and tertiary branches is different. They all are placed by pairs, on both sides of the mother branches, so that all spread out horizontally, and with a direction, in some measure, towards the circumference, (see Plate 22.) If any should grow upwards or downwards, they would become intricate, and the tree embarrassed. Nature makes no such blunders; and if such happen

to

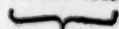
CHAP. III.  to be the unintentional effects of art; art must redress them, as we shall see in its place. It must also be observed, that the tree being in its natural state, two branches seldom grow from the same leaf or bud.

Now I suppose the tree to be about four or five feet high. The boughs near the ground will extend wider, as they are nearer the source of vegetation, so that the shape of the tree is pyramidal. All these branches of three orders or more, garnish it richly, but, as all are horizontal, from below upwards, all diverging from the centre, more or less, all placed either at the four faces of the trunk (and these at distances, at least eight or nine inches from each other, at the same face) or both sides of the mother branches, the profusion of nature can neither be perplexed nor intricate.

That beautiful œconomy of nature must be remembered, and the accidental wanderings checked and repressed into that order; for a period will arrive, when the hand of man must force nature from her common directions and arrangement. The redress of that wrong is the business of culture, as the article of pruning will explain.

10. Natural Shape.

The coffee tree is classed among the shrubs. Its natural height will seldom exceed fifteen or eighteen feet. The size of the trunk is proportionable; but, being probably improved by culture, it is usually from two to five inches in diameter, in correspondence to the difference of soil. In infancy, the primary boughs shoot out near the ground, but when the tree becomes fully grown, it is probable they would fall,



fall, and that the tree, if left to itself, would have the form of all others; that is, a naked trunk and a branchy head.

Confined to the usual height, the coffee tree is one of the most elegant productions of nature. Its shape is that of a fine bush, pyramidical and luxuriant, without confusion. Its leaves are of a deep green colour, lanceolous, polished, and shining, chiefly on the superior surface; its blossoms, spreading a sweet pleasing fragrantcy, are absolutely like small white jessamines, supported by short stems, composed of a calix, four follicles and a pistil, with its stamina lightly tinged with yellow, the whole upon a short stem. If they happen to be blasted, they fall immediately burnt, but if the infant fruit forms a knot, then the flower falls to the end of the pistil, and remains there suspended, the pistil still adhering to the fruit till both are dried and fall together. The little green fruit grows on until it becomes yellow; as it approaches ripeness, it spreads itself over with red spots and streaks, which widen till the fruit is perfectly ripe, and of deep shining purple colour. Both the flowers and fruit spring forth in large clusters going off from every leaf or bud, and at the diverging of the branches; and, in both states, nature is no where more profuse and beautiful in the variety of its colours and forms.

The coffee tree is endued, in an extraordinary degree, with vegetable life; being cut, it grows again in many sprigs. Its branches cut and placed in the ground, by any of their ends, have been seen to bear roots and leaves indifferently. I saw one fallen from a height of thirty feet with its clod; it stopped

CHAP. III. stopped on a road, and there bore fruit for several years, and perhaps even now. The bark of the tree is grey, compact, and moderately rough; its wood is white, but hard, knotty, with very little sapwood and central pith: under ground, it has a *pivot* or perpendicular root, three or four feet deep: the roots, at first large, end in an immense bulk of capillary fibres. If the pivot finds the quick stone, gravel stone, or clay, the tree will not last long; but it, as well as the roots, find their way through stony ground, and if there is a good proportion of mould, suffer no inconvenience; nay, the tree may do better, as the stones keep the mould together.

12. Period
of the Pro-
duce and
Duration.

The Duration of the tree and the Period where it begins to bear, vary according to the climate and soil: the duration is above thirty years in the best situations, and not more than six or five in the worst: the period of bearing is after the second year in warm soils, and the third in the coolest. The full crop follows next year, or even sometimes a year later in the most favourable circumstances. Culture may influence the term of duration, and chiefly, if the land be easy and the mould rich, a whole plantation may be spun out into an indeterminate length, new trees being planted as the old ones die away.

13.
Varieties.

Trees of different kinds are met with.

One, bearing small narrow leaves, a little crisped, which has been fancifully named *Mocha coffee*. One, the boughs of which are stiff, and rise much above the horizontal line; but by far the best and most productive is that described above, which bears large even leaves, and the boughs of which, naturally

rally horizontal, are gracefully inclined by their weight. This must be exclusively preferred. It would be a matter of curiosity, but perhaps of little use, and it is beyond my reach to investigate how these varieties have been produced, as it is very likely that a single kind only has been imported into the West Indian settlements. A botanist might expatiate upon this subject, and, after all, perhaps his researches would amount to no more than a hypothetical probability. Besides, experience evinces that the coffee tree is none of the *dyoick* kind, but that it bears fruit by itself, without being assisted by the vicinity of others.

Such is that precious bush, which, in the nomenclature of naturalists, is known by the appellation of *Jasminum Arabicum*, expressive of its flower and origin. It agrees best with a cool, not cold climate, with a mountainous situation, alternately moistened with rain and warmed by the sun; the moisture particularly requires to be filtrated very freely, stagnating moisture being apt to heat and rot the roots; chiefly a virgin soil is necessary for its growth: it also suffers highly from strong winds, either cold or hot.

I shall not enter into its history; but it is justice to mention that Mr. Desclieux, an officer of the French navy, brought it, in 1726, with great care and at the expence of his own comforts, from the King's garden to Martinico, from whence it has been propagated through all the other West Indian plantations. That great benefit is almost unrecorded, and the benefactor known to few, while statues and superb monuments proclaim to the world and posterity,

14. Mr.
Desclieux.

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posterity, the odious names of ravagers of mankind; and of philosophers, who have perhaps done more mischief by intoxicating all ranks of men with doctrines and maxims, which should only have been inculcated to the wise and statesmen.

15. Plantation.

I come to the plantation.

When the ground is cleaned, the alleys traced, or the roads cut open, the first work is to lay out the rows of coffee trees.

16. Laying out.

Two or more lines, of a hundred and eighty feet long, must be differently divided at the several distances designed for the trees, with little scraps of scarlet cloth, marked with numbers. The one or the other of those lines will serve, as the ground or exposition direct.

By means of those lines, parallel rows are marked out from above downwards, in general from the roads; conforming, as much as possible, to the greatest declivity of the ground. Two men hold the line well stretched, and lay it upon the ground. If any obstacle, as stumps of trees, happens to be in the way, the line must not decline to a side, but must rather be placed straight over it. Other negroes are provided with pointed wooden pickets, about eighteen inches long, and plant them where the scarlet marks lie, and always at the same side. Where the line is above ground, the picket is set perpendicularly near the scrap of scarlet, and, being dropped, is planted exactly in its place. Next, the line is moved on, and its change, determining the distance between two rows, is measured, at both ends and in the middle, with sticks of certain length. So the line goes on.

Some

Some planters admit of a little more distance between the rows than between the scraps of cloth; that is intended for the passage of the negroes. Others observe, that the even rows cross the odd ones, so that a scrap of cloth faces the middle of two neighbouring pickets, thus forming an irregular quincunx rather than a set of perfect squares: Both these methods are real improvements.

This leads me to speak of planting in Quincunxes, the advantage of which is to approximate the rows, and, of course, to gain ground, though the trees are still at the same respective distances. This method has the inconvenience of narrowing the passage for the labourers, and the boughs will suffer from it in their extremities. Besides, the gardeners of Europe have renounced the quincunxes, because they intercept the free passage of air, which is necessary to the trees.

This, however, is the manner of laying out a quincunx:

When the first row, A. A. (Plate 21.) is marked with the line, two-laths, equal to the distance of its pickets, are placed at both extremities. In triangles, whose basis are at the pickets, 1. 2. 2.3. 3. 4. At the tops b. c. d. other pickets are planted, which mark the second row B. B. Upon this you make the same operation for the third row C. C.; and so on for the rows D. and E, &c. It is obvious that all the pickets are equi-distant, though you gain as much as the difference which exists between the side A. B. of the square, and the diagonal 1. b, which is about a seventh part of the whole surface.

In all cases, as the negroes place the pickets, the master

17.
Quincunx-
es.

CHAP. III.

master or the overseer, being at the upper end of the line, takes an account of the numbers on each row; and in the evening notes the whole in the journal. Thus the correct number of the trees on plantations is known.

18. Proportions.

The quality and exposition of the ground ought to be the ruling guides to determine the distance of the trees from each other. That must be remembered which has been laid down. (Chap. I. Nos. 4. 5.) Here are the general rules.

1°. The richer the soil, the expositions being the same, the more distant must be the trees.

2°. The cooler the expositions, the quality of the grounds being the same, the farther asunder the trees must be planted.

3°. If on the north and west the ground is good, plant still farther. If, on the contrary, in the east or south it is light, (which, as I have said, is mostly the case) plant still nearer. In both cases, there is a double reason, *viz.* the *quality* and the *aspect*.

Accordingly, if to the south and east you plant at six feet, the quality of the ground being the same, plant at seven to the west and north, if the descent is steep; or at six by seven if it is easy, (the greater distance being between the rows) for where the descent is steep, the superior trees cast a longer shade upon those below.

I have made no difference of the north with the west, though that exposition be naturally cooler, because it happens almost always that, when the sun begins to make its descent westwards, the clouds gather, and prevent it from warming the coffee trees, which

which, without that, would lie under its influence CHAP. III.
till evening.

4°. Where the wind blows with violence, it is an additional motive to plant at a still greater distance, because in that case the trees must be cut lower, and of course will spread out more in width. (See No. 33.)

A square of land, planted at three feet square, will contain 13,611 trees; at six, 3,402; at eight, 2,914; at ten, 1,225; at twelve, 850; at six by five, 4,151; at ten by nine, 1,713; at twelve by eleven, 932; and so on. But as lands are measured by horizontal surfaces, it is obvious that surface is gained, in proportion to the declivity of the ground; for a diagonal is longer than the sides of its square. If it is remembered that three English acres make a square and four twenty-fifth parts of a square, the calculation of the trees an acre will receive is easy.

Next, holes are to be dug, of which every picket must, as much as possible, be the centre. These must be nine or twelve inches in diameter, and fifteen or eighteen in depth. Perhaps so much is not expressly necessary for the success of the plant, but it is obvious that the tender roots will penetrate more easily into a soil well triturated and manured.

Fig.
Digging.

The tools used in digging are old bills, helved with a stick of two or three feet. If the ground is mixed with hard stones, the usual instrument is a bar of iron, with a point at one end, and a strong blade, six inches long and two in breadth, at the other. (Plate I. Fig. 9. 10.)

The earth from the hole is placed beneath it, at

I

the

the surface of the ground, and the picket is left in the empty hole.

A few settlers plant, in light crumbly grounds, by means of the *picket*; that is, instead of digging a hole, they content themselves with forcing a large pointed stick into the ground, move it round, and then insert the plant into that little hole, together with some mould well triturated. Those expeditious and lazy methods are only mentioned to warn the reader from adopting them.

20.
Planting.

With regard to Planting, two things come under examination; namely, the plant itself, and the processes.

21.
With Seeds.

Planting with Seed is, strictly speaking, practicable, with proper precautions. But the method is always precarious, and the plantation is kept back at least one year. Besides, as it is employed to avoid the trouble of digging holes, the streams of rain sweep away half the seeds, and drive the other half out of the rows, so that nothing can be more irregular and defective.

22. Plants.

Sapplings are exclusively preferable, and the best of all are such as have been reared in nurseries, one of which must be made at the very first, and indeed with every succeeding plantation, as long as another is intended to be made next year. For want of nurseries, such plants must needs be taken as may have germinated under old trees, from seeds occasionally fallen; and, as they have grown in the shade, they are mostly rickety or defective, and little capable of enduring the strong heat of the sun. In general, however, for the first plantations, nothing better can be had, and even these must be begged from a neighbour. In such case, the least defective must

be chosen, and planted in rainy weather, to give the chance of succeeding better. CHAP. III.

A level, or at least a ground of easy descent, where the mould is crumbly, is the most eligible for the purpose of a Nursery. In the middle rows of the coffee trees, little furrows being made with the scraper, (Plate I. Fig. 3.) the finest seeds of stout luxuriant trees are put in the furrows, about an inch from each other, and lightly covered: The seeds must be fresh. Some plant the whole cherries; I prefer to take off the skin, and to wash the separated seeds; because otherwise one of them fails, and if both succeed, they grow so near that they annoy each other (*a*). The nursery must be preserved from the streams of rain, by means of two oblique gutters above it. It must be kept very clean of weeds, and no corn nor any thing else must be sown in it.

23.
Nurseries.

Any time of the year is proper for planting, provided it be rainy; but in winter, the plants, though they succeed well, will not advance much till spring comes to their relief. In the rains of July, August, and September, they grow faster, but never so well as if planted in the more genial rains of April and May, when nature seems to open itself to all the powers of vegetation. Great attention is now required, as the treasures of future harvests are at stake.

24. Season
for plant-
ing.

(*a*) As in germination the pedicle, after fastening its radicles into the ground, raises its head, lifting up the seed, it is obvious that, if the cherry is entire, that seed which has germinated the first must lift up the other, which being thus deprived of the humidity of the ground, and incapable of fastening its radicles into it, will perish.

25. Choice
and Drefs
of the
Plant.

First, for the Choice and Drefs of the plant: The best of all is that which is *crowned*, viz. that has four little boughs, which happens commonly at the end of twelve months. The best way would certainly be to take it up, with its clod, and to carry the whole into the holes, and then, the season being rainy, plants much more advanced might be taken with success, and the produce would be forward in proportion. But that is very difficult, when no time should be lost, for fear of missing the proper season, and where it is necessary to plant many thousands.

The plants must not be pulled off by force, in which case they might be peeled or twisted. The furrow must be raised up, and broken deep under the roots with a flat, sharp, iron shovel. The plants are taken hold of, and the clods shaken off. All such as have their leaves spotted with yellow patches, or their roots worm-eaten, must be thrown away. But that is seldom the case with nursery plants. For such as are good, the pivot is cut about an inch, and the capillary roots are a little shortened, with a sharp knife.

The sooner the sapplings are planted after being taken up, the better; though they may, in case of absolute necessity, be kept for four or five days without injury, laid in a shadowy place, their roots covered with moist earth, under a bed of plantain leaves.

26.
Process.

Next comes the method of planting, equally deserving proper attention.

The earth dug out is not returned again into the hole; the mould around is only taken, some of which

which is first thrown in the bottom, about four or six inches deep. Then the plant is supported with the left hand in the middle of the hole, the pivot touching lightly the new bed; with the right the surrounding mould is thrown in, to the height of six inches. This is lightly pressed down with both hands. Earth is thrown again, and again pressed more strongly, but with care that the sappling be not hurt, crooked or displaced. Three or four inches of the hole are left open, which the earth above will fill in process of time. The sappling must be set so deep, that its two inferior branches be rather under the level of the ground.

The business is finished, by sinking the picket at the upper margin of the hole, where it will serve both as a small fence to the infant tree, and as a mark, should the plant happen to wither.

Some planters sow three or four seeds round the hole, but a separate nursery is by far better, as the nourishment of those parasites must be taken from that of the tree.

When the plantation of coffee is completed, ²⁷ Accessories. beans, Indian corn, and greens are sowed, (as also plantains and roots in the ravines, see Chap. I. No. 23. and the following). It is true that these may prove a cause of the negroes, in their way to purloin in the night, frequently breaking the sapplings. But the same may happen while in quest of wild spinage or *calaloos*. I refer also the reader to the other accessory plantations, mentioned in Chap. I. Nos. 32, &c.

Besides, except in the early and necessitous times of a settlement, provisions are not permitted to be sown in the coffee fields after the first year.

There is not perhaps any plant which requires ^{28.} Weeding. more

CHAP. III.

more purity of soil than the coffee tree. Weeds keep it back, cause it to grow yellow, fade, wither, and even perish. They are also the cause of less abundance both in flower and seed, and of mildewing or stunting in growth. It is of course necessary to weed with great care, and never to suffer the weeds to grow into seed. However, where the land is steep, and still more where it is soft and crumbly, it must, by no means, be turned, for the showers will sweep it away. This is against the common rules of husbandry, but it is indispensable here.—The weeds must be then, as much as possible, pulled by the hands, and if thick deep roots compel to dig with tools, the earth must be again returned and pressed down. The negroes must be distributed, for this labour, one in every middle row, and two, if it is wider than seven feet. The best way would certainly be to take the weedings out of the field, both for greater cleanliness, and that they may rot for manure in a remote place; but if that cannot be done, there are at least some weeds, of a moist nature and strong powers of vegetation, which it is absolutely necessary to carry away altogether; others may be spread out, if the sun is powerful, and they will shortly wither. But if the (a) weather is rainy, they must be laid in little heaps, in the very rows of the coffee trees; for if the heaps were placed in the middle rows, they would turn the streams of rain towards the trees, which would thereby suffer. If the weeds are heaped around the trunks of the trees, a manure is thus undoubtedly made, in process of time, but a bait is also laid for ants and other offensive insects.

(a) This is the worst time for weeding.

As

As often as a field of coffee is cleaned, the plantain trees, the ground provisions and grass in the neighbourhood ought also to be weeded. The plantain trees ought likewise to have the super-numerary suckers lopped off, only three stalks of different heights being left at each stock; and lastly, the roads, where stones and rubbish accumulate, must be cleared away.

Care must be taken that lands do not remain waste near to windward of the plantations, as they are an everlasting nursery of seeds, which, carried by the wind, occasion endless weeding.—Such troublesome nuisances must be destroyed by the hoe and by fire.

The hoe, by means of which weeding is performed with expedition, can only be used in level grounds. The scraper, (Plate I. Fig. 3.) is the more general instrument used for this purpose. It is a small rod of iron, sixteen inches long, terminated at one end by a small triangular blade about an inch wide, and at the other with a small hoe of about two inches. Several planters, however, use, with better reason, small crooked pieces of iron circles, (Fig. 4.) as they occasion still less waste of ground.

If the plantations have been made too extensive for the hands, or, should this not be the case, if the harvest is without intermission, it is difficult to keep the fields so clean as they ought to be. If the weeds have unfortunately been suffered to overrun, and go into seeds, there will be no end, if the usual method of weeding, from one end of the plantations to the other, is followed; because the first part cleaned

CHAP. III. will again be overrun, before ordinary circumstances permit to return to it. It will be necessary, therefore, in this case, to weed one tract first, then another, and to return to the first, as soon as the weeds push out; and in this manner to pass over the whole twice, at a short interval, so that it may be perfectly clean.

Several means have been attempted, both to prevent or to lessen the growth of weeds, and to keep the ground from being washed away, as is the case after weeding. Sweet potatoes have been planted: They enrich the ground, if not dug out, and keep it together; but they entwine the coffee trees, and keep away from the soil the genial influence of the sun. I have heard of others who have covered the ground with, as it were, a mattress, or thick bed of sugar canes or millet grass, doubtless leaving an empty space round every tree; but I have no experience which can enable me to speak of the practice. I candidly confess I see no other objection to it, but the toil of planting, cutting, carrying, and placing such an immense quantity of stuff. It may be tried; but this, as well as all other trials, ought to be made on a small scale at first.

Two or three times a year, the savannas or pastures should be cleared of all the wild weeds, unfit for the cattle, and which smother the good grass. It is generally known, that a proportion of black cattle improves the pastures, and that sheep and goats spoil them.

29.
Accidents:

1°. If, in weeding, the sapplings of coffee trees are observed to be withered, others must be planted in their stead, as has been explained, (Nos. 19. and

26.)

26.) The older the plantation is, the more care is to be taken in digging a wider and deeper hole, adding a proportion of manure. In this case, larger sapplings must be chosen, and set in the earth with their clod, (See Art. 55. No. 1.) so that they may better keep pace with the others.

2°. If any sappling is found broken or twisted, it must be cut close by the ground, in a sloping direction resembling the mouth-piece of a flute, the cut surface facing the north. Suckers will shoot up from this, of which the best only need be preserved. This will advance so much the better, as the roots, in the beginning, will acquire great strength. Here a picket is more necessary than in other cases, because the sucker may want the support of a prop.

3°. When, after a light shower of rain towards noon, the sun immediately darts its rays with great force, trees are liable, as well as human creatures, to *strokes of the sun*, as they are termed, the effect of which is to blast the young plants, or to mildew the green fruit. I know no remedy against this evil but to plant afresh; but this rarely happens in the upper mountains, where the climate is generally cool, and the ground fresh.

30. And
Distemp-
ers.

4°. Often, and particularly when the trees are eighteen or twenty months old, you find a tree whose leaves become yellow and wither. Such plant will certainly perish, if not speedily relieved. The cause may arise from a premature overload of fruit. Lose no time then to remove this entirely. If after a few days it does not begin to recover, it is probably eaten at the roots, by a large white worm, much resembling a slug. I cannot be satisfied of the efficacy

CHAP. III. efficacy of cutting the tree close by the ground, which is considered as a remedy for this disease (*a*), because the evil is in the root. I believe the worm must be taken out completely; and, as this can hardly be done without taking up the tree, I never failed to do so, and I even was careful not to plant again in the same place, without having made previously a larger hole, and left this hole exposed for a fortnight to the sun. If in digging thus deeper you find a vein of clay, rather plant a plantain tree, for another coffee tree would only be another victim.

5°. In hot situations, plantain trees are intermingled with the coffee trees, for the purpose of shade and coolness. These are usually placed at every fourth or sixth row, as the trees are more or less distant, and the place more or less hot. This is generally attended with great success. But the plantain trees are sometimes placed in the intervals of the coffee trees, and, of course, too near them, so that they become entangled with their boughs, and the fall of the clusters of the plantains, and even of the leaves, may break and hurt them. It is better, therefore, that a plantain tree be placed instead of a coffee tree, and that the rows be alternately plantain and coffee.

6°. If, on the contrary, from the extreme coolness of the place, the trees lose their leaves, and the ends of their boughs wither, which is the usual consequence, the situation must be examined. If the evil originates from the actual situation, there is no other remedy but pruning freely; but this never hap-

(*a*) In an essay upon this culture, printed in the Jamaica Almanack of 1789, which (however short) is by no means contemptible.

pens except when trees are fully grown up. Sometimes, however, such accident arises from woodland, on neighbouring heights, casting its shadow over the plantation. In such case, nothing will do but clearing away the obnoxious wood. I saw an instance of this in a deep valley, where the trees faced the south, and where the remedy had the expected success.

7°. Where the climate is exceedingly cool and damp, the trees grow well, but do not bear, though the ground be excellent. This happens chiefly where the country is covered with wood, and will disappear as new settlements are formed. Thus I have seen some estates, at one time under this predicament, become very productive after seven or ten years; the climate having been entirely changed by opening and cutting down the woods.

8°. Wood rats are fond of the pulp of coffee, and sometimes commit great havock among the fruit, upon trees near the wood. Snares may be laid for them, for rat's poison would be dangerous, on account of the negroes and dogs. This damage is, however, very inconsiderable; and the best remedy is to clear completely the borders of the wood.

9°. Sometimes ants and wood lice get up into the trees, and do some little mischief. Ashes may be laid at the foot of the tree, with a view to prevent their ascent. When shaken down, at the weedings, they seldom multiply so as to do harm.

10°. When the season has been uncommonly dry, the cherries are liable to be blasted, either empty, and, though large and red, to have no seed within, or *mildewed* (black-burnt) before they are ripe. There is no remedy. But the high mountains are,
in

CHAP. III. in a great measure, free from this inconvenience, which is only felt in a great degree in hot situations. I know of a crop, in a most beautiful plantation in the island of Tortuga, where forty-five thousand out of eighty fell short from this cause.

11°. The essay upon the culture of coffee trees, which I have noticed in a preceding note, speaks of white flies as highly offensive to the crops in Jamaica; and recommends as a remedy, *to plant pine-apples betwixt the trees, as those insects prefer the sweet acid of this fruit, which either kills them, or prevents their multiplying.* I am glad to mention that observation; but I have never heard of those white flies in St. Domingo.

31. Wind. It has been said above that sharp winds are hurtful to coffee trees. They crisp the leaves, disorder the boughs, throw down the blossoms before they knit, disturb the growth of the fruit, and lastly shake the whole tree, chiefly when young, in such a manner that the trunk works a conical hole in the earth, which proves deadly in strong soils, by affording a receptacle for stagnant water, which causes the roots to rot.

If this has happened, the earth must be well broken round, the hole filled up, and the tree either propped or cut near the ground, as has been said in the preceding article, No. 2.

Besides, several precautions are employed against the wind, the first of which has been hinted at in a former article, (18. No. 4.); and another will be mentioned in No. 33 of this chapter. A more immediate remedy is to prop the trees: the picket used in planting may serve in the beginning, though sup-

port

port is seldom necessary before the tree is large enough to give the wind a hold. Besides, when the plant is very slender it yields to the wind. When the tree becomes larger, the danger is greater, and higher props are necessary. In all cases, it is tied to the prop with the dry skin of a plantain tree, so as the trunk may be kept firm, without being strangled in its growth; and at every weeding the knot is a little slackened.

I have seen the young trees successfully sheltered by rows of *tayaux* (See Chap. I. No. 37.) planted between every row, or every second row. But the roots must not be dug out, and the largest leaves must be cut at the weeding. This seems, in appearance, to keep back the trees; but in proportion as the growth of the top is slower, the trunk and roots gain force; and when the *tayaux* are destroyed, (which is done in the end of the second year, by cutting them close, and choaking the sprouts by leaves heaped upon the stocks) the coffee trees resist the wind, and grow with redoubled vigour,

These precautions are needless when the trees are formed, or *stopped* as it is termed, (see the 33d article) and full grown; but the wind may still prove hurtful to the boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit.

Where the lands are almost level (as the greatest part of the island of Tortuga) belts of wood may be left between and around the several fields of coffee trees: these break the wind completely; and being perhaps a hundred feet wide or more, may be opened into stately delightful avenues. But in steep grounds

CHAP. III.

grounds and cool climates, this would serve no purpose, because the trees are placed too high to benefit from the shelter; and, as the daily breeze usually comes from the same quarter with the sun, the shade which these woods would throw over the trees would be otherwise injurious. Every culture and climate, as every thing in this world, has its inconveniences, as well as its advantages, and we must rest satisfied with the mixture.

32.
Pruning in
general.

I come now to the subject of Pruning, understood in its general sense. It is divided into different operations.

The first is to *stop* the tree, a practice generally observed in all the plantations of St. Domingo. But it is chiefly remarkable, that it is owing, in a very great measure, if not entirely, to this, that full lopping becomes indispensable, if skilful industry is not exerted to avert it.

33.
Stopping.

Stopping consists in cutting the top of the tree, in a greater or lesser degree. It is practised for several reasons, equally necessary and obvious.

1°. By bringing the fruit within reach of the hand, it prevents the negroes from pulling down and bending the boughs, in the business of gathering. This is the more useful, as the boughs, which resist strongly if drawn in their natural direction, are easily broken off when bent downwards. A primary bough, also, once broken off, never shoots again.

2°. The tree acquires more strength and vigour, both below and above ground.

3°. It affords less hold to the winds.

4°. The form of the tree is more beautiful.

5°. It

5°. It loses none of its inferior original branches, which, as nearer the Source of vegetation, are better nourished, and of course more productive.

These explanations may appear superfluous to many. They are mentioned for the sake of those to whom it may be necessary to explain every thing.

It is not proper to give a precise and fixed rule for stopping trees, *at a certain height*. The facility of picking is a main point. In this view, the trees should never be allowed to exceed five feet. Next the quality of the ground must be examined. In the best, five must be considered as the proper point, from which it may come down to four, three, and even two feet in the worst. Here I suppose that the plantation has been well laid out, and the trees placed at proper distance.*

The aspect must also be considered. If much exposed to winds, the trees (all other things being equal) ought to be lower. But it is supposed this has been foreseen when the plantation was laid out; for if the tree be lower, it will consequently (with the same means of growth) spread wider. Yet that the boughs of neighbouring trees may approach one another, is no matter of doubt, but the matter ought to have been so judged, that they do not interfere; hence it is a rule, that in windy expositions, as the trees must not be permitted to rise so high as in others, the distances between them must be proportionably greater. (Referred to this in No. 18, 4.)

Thus, the facility of gathering is the ruling point. The goodness of the soil, the exposition
of

of the ground, and the strength and distances of the trees should be next estimated with each other. Mistakes committed may even, in some measure, be amended; for if the trees have been planted too near, as is proved by uncommon luxuriancy, it will be adviseable to permit a higher growth; if too wide, it will be proper to stop lower; never, however, forgetting the probable dangers from winds.

Some planters, as a remedy against winds, stop their trees eighteen inches, more or less, under the proper height; and when, by this means, the tree has taken firm root, suffer a luxuriant (*gorman-dizing* as it is termed) sucker, to shoot out under one of the upper boughs, which they again stop at a proper point. These suckers, in general, bear large leaves and little fruit. Great numbers fail, and a plantation treated in this manner will be dwarfish and unsightly. I by no means recommend the method; but should it be practised, the bough from which the sucker shoots ought to be cut short off; because otherwise, it would strangle the stem of the top, and annoy its vegetation. I will ultimately allow, that if the trees have been stopped too low, the growth of a sucker may be admitted, as the only (though inadequate) remedy.

Under the same aspect, and on ground of the same quality, all the trees ought to be stopped at the same height; because, there being no cause for irregularity, nothing contributes so much to the beauty of a plantation as uniformity of appearance.

Some planters stop at *ripe wood*, others at *green wood*; the former are obliged to suffer the tree to grow

grow almost a foot too high. The latter cut it as soon as it is grown beyond the point. I always preferred the latter method; 1st. Because the top, being tender and brittle, yields to the fingers; in the other, a knife is necessary, by which the trunk is always more or less shaken. 2dly, Because the tree is stopped sooner, and does not remain so long nor so much exposed to the winds. Moreover, it is essentially necessary to cut immediately under a knot. Thus, the little top which is left, keeps the next boughs together, which otherwise, by their weight, might cause the tender trunk to split asunder in the manner of a fork. It also ought to be remarked that, in all probability, the tree, after it is stopped, may grow a few inches; but on this point I have no exact observation.

While the negroes are weeding, the drivers stop the trees, measuring the heights by their staffs, which are marked with notches designed for the grounds of different aspects and qualities.

In this business, you have been obliged to thwart nature in her designs; and, according to my prediction, you may expect to see her, as it were, offended.

34. Effects
of stop-
ping.

It appears that, because the trees have been stopped, and the heights to which the soil and the vegetative power seemed designed to rear them, has been circumscribed, an impetuous and overflowing sap breaks out from all quarters. If nothing is done against this exuberance of vegetable juice, the trees, in process of time, will grow into a maze of entangled boughs, inaccessible to the genial warmth of the sun, and deficient in the ordinary

K

powers

powers of fructification. It is the business of the planter to check the excess of vegetation, and to assuage, so to speak, the wrath of offended nature, by a strict subserviency to her laws and original intentions.

Remember what they are (No. 5 to 12.)

33.
Clearing.

Vertical green suckers, with large leaves, shoot from under the primary boughs. These are very properly termed *gormandising* tops: pluck them off instantly.

Whereas all branches ought to grow by the sides of the primary boughs; branches slender, brownish, with large leaves and very distant knots, spring upwards, and in almost vertical directions from the knots, rise through and entangle the good boughs and branches: pluck these also instantly.

Whereas every bud within the stems of the leaves should have but a single branch, and every knot two opposite ones, two, three, or four are sometimes observed to shoot at a single bud, some of them in a backward direction. All these, thus superfluous, must be plucked early, and only one left at each side of the knot, namely, that which is strongest, and chiefly has the best direction towards the circumference.

I have said *plucked*, because this must be done when the shoots are very tender, and at a time when they yield easily. Besides, if a branch is cut, a great number of sprouts succeed; if *plucked*, nothing follows, and the wound is speedily cicatrized. Care must, however, be taken not to tear the bark too much.

Any negroe, however unexperienced and raw,
will

will be capable of doing this after two lessons, nor is the task toilsome. It is enough that, at every weeding, the trees are searched. Two negroes may be appointed for this purpose through the year, but negroes, not under the inspection of a driver, do very little work in general.

CHAP. III.

If this method is assiduously attended to, beyond doubt the trees will bear no other branches but such as they ought to have; hence pruning will seldom be materially necessary. What then will become of the superabundance of vegetation? It must, of course, be spent in giving greater vigour and strength to the roots, trunk, and branches, and in a greater and more perfect fructification.

36.
Its Effects,

I had carried, in my plantation, this plain natural idea a step farther, in strong grounds, and more particularly in the cool expositions. I plucked from the main boughs all the two secondary branches, *next to the trunk*, from above downwards. Thus I diminished the quantity of wood, which, in the centre, is more exuberant. I thus formed round the trunk a large opening, through which air might circulate, and the sun penetrate even to the earth. Thus vegetation was cherished, and moss, which arises from moisture, and is very hurtful, was produced in less abundance. Success had crowned my industry easy and simple, when the revolt . . . God knows what is become of my poor trees, since the eye of their friend has been withheld from watching over them.

37.
Further
Method of
Clearing.

This does not entirely exempt the trees from the saw and the pruning knife, chiefly when they grow old; but the work will be short and easy, where the

58.
Perfection
of Clear-
ing.

CHAP. III. preceding precautions have been taken, and it must be performed after every crop.

If a head is spoiled it must be sawed. (See No. 47.)

If any of the superabundant branches have been left, through neglect, these must be cut off.

If a bough has been broken by accident, and if any branches have become spent and withered from too great a load of fruit, these must be pruned. In short, every thing that is defective must be completely taken away, but without retrenching any thing else.

39^o Regeneration of Boughs.

The pruning of a bough of consequence will make a chasm in the tree, if it is not otherwise made up. This may be effected by a kind of device which I shall endeavour to explain, by the help of the Plate 22, where the progress and effect of the operation are delineated.

A. B. D. (fig. 1.) represent the bough which, being spoiled at its end B. D, must be cut; the sound portion, A. B, being preserved. The object in view is to make the former grow again, so as to furnish a circumference, in the same direction; and, as much as possible, resembling that of the former bough.

For this purpose, the bough A. B. D. must be cut immediately above a knot, where two or at least one good secondary branch may be found, as in B. You shall have the branch, as described in fig. 2. A. B.

Then, cut the secondary branch in C. (fig. 2) so as to cut also the tertiary branch C. e, and preserve the opposite tertiary C. d.; and then, the branch will be in the state described by the fig. 3.

If,

If, instead of tertiary branches, buds only are found in C. it is the same thing. Cut off the branch and the posterior bud, and preserve the anterior, which will give out a branch C. d.

In both cases, the bud or branch C. d. will extend, with all the sap which was designed for the whole part cut off; and the bough will again exhibit the figure 4. A. C. D, much like the figure 1. A. B. D, for it will reach, in its turn, the circumference, loaded with secondary and tertiary branches; and the crook C. will always tend to conform itself to the vacancy.

This ingenuous and simple operation of nature assisted by art, often occurs in full pruning, as well as in the present.

In both, if long branches interfere with the neighbouring trees, they must be shortened, as much as is necessary. Moss and other parasitical excrescences must be removed. (See Art. 48.)

Some planters, who have no idea of lopping regularly, content themselves, after the crop, to break the dry branches. But a careful husbandman will not imitate them.

After this operation, nipping may be necessary. (No. 51.)

When the above plain and easy practice has been neglected, the trees, particularly in strong grounds and cool expositions, grow into impenetrable thickets. Vegetation is entirely attracted to the summit by the air; there a mass of small branches makes a deep cover, which smothers (a) the inferior

40. Necessity of full pruning.

(a) The curious and numerous observations of naturalists, which prove that the plants draw more of the nourishment from moist air than

CHAP. III.

ferior boughs. These wither and decay if the tree is left long to itself. Then it exhibits the figure of an umbrella, bearing only a few cherries on the upper branches. If the exposition is still cooler, the tree loses its leaves, the ends of the branches wither, and upon the whole the tree bears scarcely any fruit.

Great toil and great loss are the consequence of this neglect, for full pruning is the only remedy.

41.
Tools.

The saw and the crooked knife (Plate 2. fig. 14, 15.) are the tools employed for this and the former operations. The small English handsaw, about two inches broad at the handle, is the best. The blade of the knife ought to be strong, at most an inch broad, and five inches long, besides the hook, which must be pointed. The blade, for greater strength, and for other reasons equally obvious, ought to be of one piece with the handle. The master and the drivers have always lesser crooked claspknives in their pockets, to cut what accidentally falls under their eye.

42.
Principles.


Pruning is generally considered as the most arduous part of this culture. Why so? Because, in general, men, instead of seeking for a sure and simple principle, the consequences of which are obvious and easily applicable in practice, usually proceed by one routine or other; and as nature,

than from the earth, are generally known. For that purpose, the leaves are provided chiefly on the inferior surface, with millions of absorbent pores, for which reason it is observed to be always less smooth than the superior surface. The leaves, as well as the bark, have also their exhaling pores. In consequence of this, it is obvious that air ought not to be interrupted in its course, either by allowing the trees to grow too thick, or by planting them originally too near. Moss, which shuts the pores of the bark, must, for the same reason, be removed.

simple

simple and uniform in the principles of her proceedings, is extremely fruitful in sportive deviations, when driven by art out of her own ways, routine becomes a difficult and embarrassing line of conduct. But when once observation has discovered the more general and systematic proceedings of nature, it is obvious to common sense and reason, that the best means to redress her sportive wanderings and deviations, is by conducting her gently to her more usual paths and her original forms. The means of succeeding are easily deduced from the same observation. It is for this reason I have insisted at large (in Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.) upon a natural symmetry of ramification, and (in Nos. 33, 34.) upon the causes of deviation from it. In the application therefore of this principle, as may be collected from what has been said in No. 35, it is obvious to common observation, that pruning consists (and can indeed be allowed only to consist) in cutting off what deviates from natural symmetry, preserving what corresponds with it, and directing the vegetative principle to purposes of order, use, and regeneration.

I will not deny, that this demands attention, but it is so far from being extremely difficult, that I had myself above thirty negroes capable of pruning trees, which they had learned by routine, as knowledge of a higher source cannot be expected from people of this description. In the beginning, I sent five of them to work, for a week, at a neighbouring plantation; these succeeded pretty well, and taught to others those rude lessons which they had themselves learnt. Nothing was left to me but to direct

CHAP. III.  their routine into the path of nature, from which, as I had observed, the negroes of my neighbour had not deviated far.

It may be objected, and I, by no means deny, but that the great variety of grounds, of climates, and expositions, may occasion differences. These, however, never alter the leading principle, namely, of conducting nature in her deviations, back into the usual systematic path. They only affect the modifications more or less, and less than is generally supposed.

43.
Varieties.

The tree is every where the same. Its nature, its shape, and temperament are all like. The differences arise from foreign circumstances, such as soil, climate, and exposition. According to this short and easy system, pruning must be considered as the true medical aid of the coffee tree, and it must be proportioned, I shall say, rather to the circumstances or local situation, than directed by a supposed difference of temperament in the patient. Towards this, the negroes must be particularly directed by an uninterrupted watchfulness on the part of the master. I return to the several applications.

I repeat that, *in warm and soft soils*, nothing will ever be necessary besides clearing, as I have described it in Nos. 35, 38, and that this practice may supersede any other, even in the best grounds, and in cool climates, if early and constantly employed.

44. Half
pruning.

But in sultry expositions and good grounds, though it may have been neglected, it will be still sufficient to clear the trees perfectly. First, whatever is rotten, withered, or broken, must be taken off,

off, always attending to the method of regeneration, explained in No. 39. Next the gormandizing, vertical and cross branches, as well as the supernumerary and those which diverge from natural directions, must be plucked off, or cut, if too strong. The spoiled heads must be sawed, but with great œconomy. The summit and the centre must be particularly laid open, to admit the sun and air. Lastly, if the tree is still too thick, some secondary branches, those which diverge most from natural direction, must be taken out, for the primary boughs ought never to be touched; in this, as well as in the preceding operations, some mechanical rules must be attended to, which will be found in No. 47.

I come to the third and last degree of pruning, which must never be employed but in trees which are in cool aspects, and in the situation described in No. 40.

45. Full
Pruning.

Trees which require this process are, in general, so very thick and intricate, chiefly at the top, that the pruner is at a loss where and how to begin. The crown or top must be first cleared, by plucking all the small branches that abound in every direction. Next, crooked large branches, as they are met with, must be cut. Lastly, if the head is rotten, it must be sawed; without sacrificing a line of what is sound. This œconomy can never be too strictly attended to.

The whole tree is then easily seen, and what is to be preserved or cut will not escape the pruner's observation.

All the primary boughs which have kept their natural direction must be preserved, for this reason,
that

that once cut off, they never grow again. However, if they are entirely broken or spoiled at their rise, they must be lopped off notwithstanding. It is the same, if they have taken a wrong or cross direction at their origin; but here, reserve and œconomy are necessary. If there is a single knot found and well directed, and still more if there are two or four, these must be cautiously preserved. If the farthest knot has a good secondary branch, it must be treated as is explained in No. 39. If it has not, it must be still left, for it will bear several twigs, the best of which may be chosen, in the next operation, to make up the main bough. Thus all the boughs must be examined, from above downwards, and treated as required.

Lastly, where the situation is exceedingly cool, and the trees are decayed into barrenness, from the great overload of wood, all the boughs must be stripped of their secondary branches, both with a view to renew the fruit-bearing ones, and to give a stronger direction to the sap; as also, if the extremities of the boughs are withered, as happens in the trees stripped of their leaves, from severity of cold, or if they interfere with the neighbouring trees, they must be pruned and shortened.

46.
Umbrella
Trees.

If the operation of pruning ought, in all cases, to be made with œconomy, it is obvious that still more œconomy is necessary in rectifying the disorders of those trees which have lost their inferior branches, and are distinguished by the correct appellation of *umbrellas*; such are actually very deficient in wood, and pruning will diminish it still more.

I tried

I tried to replace those inferior boughs, by suffering a gormandizing sucker or two to shoot up; as near the ground as possible, which I stopped under the umbrella. I hoped that these might have produced fine boughs. But whether it was that the mother trunk engrossed all the substance, or that the umbrella, growing thick, smothered the suckers, these never answered my expectation. In cases where the tree was low, I have suffered one to shoot up, which I stopped when it had four or six boughs. This succeeded only a little better; and those trials have satisfied me that the best method (particularly where the umbrella is small) is to cut the tree close by the ground, and to treat it as will be explained in Number 55, 2.

I come now to the Manual Dexterity of pruning, in general.

47.
Manual
Dexterity.

1°. In order to saw the trunk at any part, the saw must be managed with one hand, and the trunk held fast with the other, both for the purpose of preventing the tree from being shaken too much, and to facilitate the working of the saw. The trunk must be cut sloping, from above downwards, the oval surface of the cut facing towards the north, and very much inclined; in which case, the sun will strike less forcibly upon it, and rain will more readily pass over; for if it enters into large cracks or fissures, it will hurt the tree extremely.

2°. The large boughs, which cannot be conveniently cut with the knife, must be sawed, and held fast in the manner above described. But in these cases, the saw should never be used where the knife can be employed.

employed. If a very large bough is gently bent down, and the cut made, with an even quick stroke, upwards, the power of the knife is surprisingly great.

3°. As the saw tears and notches the bark, around the edges of the cut, both wood and bark must be dressed and pared with the knife. After this, the bark grows better, and the wound cicatrizes more rapidly round the cut.

4°. In order to cut a branch, the branch must be held firm with one hand, and with the other the knife applied forwards, and drawn steadily and quickly. If the cut is not performed at the first stroke, the stroke must be repeated in the same manner, still bending the bough gently, but being careful not to split it. Should this happen, the whole damaged part must be taken off; should the hand shake, the business will not be well done, and the knife is apt to be notched, if its temper is too hard. This defect of the temper, however, is remedied by dipping the knives, for a short time, in boiling water.

5°. In all cases it is necessary to cut very close; thus where a secondary branch is cut, let it be done very close to the mother bough, more particularly behind the cut; and if it is wished to prevent the shoots from rising up in crowds, cut a little of the bark of the mother bough around the cut.

48.
Moss.

When the tree is completely pruned, the Moss and other parasitical excrescences are scratched from the trunk, with a wooden knife (Plate 2. fig. 16.) taking care not to injure the bark.

A common negroe can hardly prune every day
more

more than thirty of those thick and overgrown trees, from which the tediousness of lopping, where several thousands require this operation, may be conceived. As the prunings are made, the boughs must be cut in pieces and spread upon the ground, so as to occasion little incumbrance. CHAP. III.

For the better performance of the work, care must be taken that the knives and saws be sharp, which must be effected by means of the grinding stone and triangular file. After the business of pruning is over, the instruments must be collected together, rubbed with tallow, and kept for the use of another year.

Where the choice is left, March, April, and May are the best seasons for pruning, the trees requiring a relief after the crop, which they find fully from the vegetation of the summer. It may however be performed in any season of the year, so that some planters appoint, for this purpose alone, a certain proportion of negroes, who continue the employment the year round, unless in the short times of full blossom. In general, however, the rapidity of crop admits of no other work being done at that time, the intervals being sometimes even too short to allow of weeding. 49.
Season.

Upon the whole, when any branch requires to be cut, neither blossom nor fruit is of consideration, however unpleasant the havock may be. Besides, the trees in general would be exhausted, or sink under the loads of fruit, if all their flowers came forward. If the fruit is ripe, the pruners begin to work two or three days before the reapers, who pick the cherries

CHAP. III. cherries from the branches, as they lie upon the ground and are still fresh.

50.
Quacks.

The care of the health of the vegetable kingdom is no more free from the bane of quacks, than that of the animal. There are wretches, ignorant of every knowledge, who assume the name of pruners of coffee, and traverse the mountains, tendering their service, for two pence or a penny for each tree. If any one is simple enough to employ them, three hundred trees will be maimed or destroyed every day. The rule of this horrid havock is to cut four or five knots from the top, often with the bill, a hurtful instrument; next to cut all the boughs, as they say into *parrot sticks*. Thus the maimed trunk makes a mournful appearance, having only a few naked stumps, five or six inches long. The consequence of this is the destruction of the one half, and the barrenness of the other. When any one of this description came to my estate, I felt a secret impression of the impending danger of my trees, and could not be easy till the impudent quack had taken his departure,

51.
Nipping.

A field of coffee fully pruned presents the appearance of an European forest in the time of winter. The trees are naked; a few leaves only, remaining at the ends of the branches, seem to deplore their departed companions. The ground, so to speak, is strewed with dead carcasses. The aspect is sad and mournful. The mind is impressed with melancholy sensations. For a while, nature silent, and seemingly downcast, appears as if meditating revenge. But she is, in fact, better employed.

ployed. Sensible of the good done, she collects all her forces to refund her stores with the usury of gratitude. Visit the dismal scene after a few days. All is changed; delightful sensation! Sap appears every where. Millions of twigs have spread over the wounded surfaces; and the eye again rejoices in the verdant luxuriance, as the mind is elated with the pride of success.

Under this extraordinary operation, nature must be assisted by all the powers of art. First, it is essential to keep the ground perfectly clean and free from weeds.

Next, all wanderings must be brought into order, and the excess of a vegetation too luxuriant must be cut off. This is called *nipping*.

From every cut surface many small twigs are sent forth, the support of which will exhaust the tree, and produce a greater thickness and intricacy of bush than there was before the operation. All this superabundance must be taken off, but the order and symmetry of nature preserved; the retrenchment must be directed by an adherence to its original forms. Thus a single branch at each bud, and two axillary at each knot may be left; in all cases taking care to prefer such as have the most natural and horizontal direction. This, in reality, is no more than doing at one time what I directed to be done in succession, in the Art. 35. In the present situation also, every thing must be pulled, nothing ought to be cut with the knife, except what may have escaped the first operation. As to *this*, it must be postponed, till the twigs are five or six inches in length, which happens usually in the third month, but

CHAP. III. but not deferred later. This operation is also tedious, it requires the hands of loppers, and the eye of a master.

When the trees have once undergone full pruning, it is a point of consequence to manage them in such a manner as not to require a repetition of such a troublesome and laborious operation. The means pointed out, in Nos. 35, 37, and 38, must be employed with care and vigilance.

52. Labour
and Losses.

It is now evident how much I had reason to exclaim against the labour which the planter brings upon himself, by neglecting careful and seasonable clearing. The actual loss is, by no means, less affecting. Crops decline and have been reduced, in reality, almost to nothing, as the necessity for full pruning has increased. The crop which, in the ordinary course of things, ought to follow this operation, is entirely lost; and in fact, there is a loss of at least two full harvests. Skilful pruning, however, will restore the produce to its highest extent. I can warrant this from my own experience, before, after an accurate investigation into the nature of the tree, I had recourse to the method explained in the Numbers 35, 37, and 38.

53.
Decay of
the Trées.

I come now to the Decay of the coffee trees.

The provident husbandman will not fail to have a foresight of this period, and, at an early season, make a necessary provision of manure.

54.
Manure.

A great number of things, considered as nuisances in themselves, are good for this precious purpose. The dung of all kinds of cattle, the sweepings of pens, houses, kitchen, poultry, and pigeon houses; the leaves and trunks of plantain trees; the weedings,
and

and chiefly, the red skins of coffee, (a) may be gathered into receptacles without the reach of currents of water, either in the fields or near the grater-mill house. These, in process of time, are improved into a black mould, which then makes a most excellent manure. I saw once a striking example of the valuable qualities of the manure from coffee skins. An industrious overseer dug a few pits, behind his house, upon a clay perfectly dead, and formed proper outlets for water. He filled those pits with the mould from that manure alone, to the height of eighteen inches. Cabbages, turnips, carrots, redbeets, and small greens of different kinds, the largest and best I ever tasted in my life, were produced.

The decay of coffee trees may be distinguished into partial decays from temperament, accident, or distemper, and into general decays from impoverished ground, or from the age of the trees. This period is more or less late, according to the quality of the soil. The manner of treating the distempers of individuals, or the decay of a plantation is much the same. The only difference lies in applying the remedies to the plantation in general, or to the several parts of it.

I have already mentioned the accidents to which young trees are liable. I confine myself here to those of trees of fuller growth. When in grounds not yet exhausted, one or more trees give signs of decay, the treatment may require to be managed according to different plans.

(a) I have already excluded the chaff and parchment of coffee.

55.
Remedies.

1st. The tree must be well pruned, as has been explained in the Numbers 44 or 45, according to the respective state of decay. Next the earth must be dug all around into a trench, a foot wide or more, as deep as possible, and at the distance of a foot from the trunk. If any of the roots are found to be spoiled, they must be cut off; the others must be cleared, and shortened with a sharp crooked knife. Then the pit must be filled again with the earth well broken, to which must be added a fourth or fifth part of good old manure well rotted. The surface is then to be beaten or trampled even and smooth. Nay, if the ground is very steep, some trunks of plantain trees must be laid down and kept fast, by means of pickets below, to prevent the ground from giving way.

2^{dly}. If the *trees* or branches are in a worse situation than the above, *they* may be sawed near the ground (as has been mentioned in No. 47.) or near the rise, and, when the shoots are advanced, the best and lowest in point of situation, ought to be chosen and supported by a prop, the others being pulled off; in this operation, the roots must be dug round, pruned and manured, as in the former. There is no doubt but that the preceding method is preferable, wherever the branches, after being lopped, may actually form a good well garnished tree.

There is a remark, in the essay mentioned above, "that those second shoots last but a short time, and hardly yield two good crops." In my opinion, however, and the opinion is grounded upon experience, they last much longer; and, indeed,

deed, the precautions of digging, manuring, and lopping the roots, seem not to have fallen under the observation of this author, though very conducive to success.

3dly. Every thing in nature has a period fixed to its existence. If a tree is actually dead; nay, even if it has once undergone the former operation of regeneration, another tree must be planted in its stead, supposing the ground to be still good. The largest and healthiest plant must be taken from the nursery with its clod. A hole must be dug, at least as large as a barrel of flour, and the plant carefully placed, with all the precautions of manuring, breaking the earth, and securing its safety, by means of trunks of plantains.

The manure, previously to these operations, ought to be carried into the field by the negroes, as they go to their daily work, and laid in different heaps. This spares time and trouble.

4thly. When the ground of a *plantation* is exceedingly steep, exhausted or washed away, it is perhaps the best method to form *a new one*; though, indeed, it may be observed that there is no spot (except perhaps mere clay) which may not be improved by dint of labour and manure, into a receptacle sufficiently proper for the artificial mould necessary in the vegetation of fine trees. But such is a work of immense labour, and ought only to be attempted, where there is no resource in wood land, and where the settlements are of great value.

It is, however, true, that too many planters wantonly abuse this resource; and, instead of cherishing

56.
Neglected.

CHAP. III.

their old trees, indulge themselves in forming new plantations. But it is to be observed, that these are attended with as hard labour as the remedies noticed above for old plantations; that they must become necessarily more and more distant from the settlements, which occasions, daily, a great loss of time. Besides, nothing is so unsatisfactory as to be surrounded with wastes. A father of a family ought to preserve virgin grounds for his children and successors. Lastly, why should those servants be abandoned, who require only care and attention to preserve themselves in a condition to feed you in their old age.

57. Observation.

I ought to have observed before, that the husbandman, either by the mode of arranging his plantations, or by the seasonable employment of full loppings, should be careful to keep the crops of every year as nearly equal as possible; for it must be observed, that coffee trees, like other fruit trees, produce alternately a full and a short crop. The operations must, therefore, be so managed, that the crops of each succeeding year be brought to a level with that of the former. For want of this calculation, some planters make a hundred thousands of coffee one year, and only fifty the next. Hence, in the first year, every nerve must be overstrained to meet the labour; and many things necessary to uniform success will be of course neglected.

58. Crops.

Harvest and vintage are, in Europe, the most cheerful season of the year; but, here, the planter's feelings are perpetually on the rack. Crop-time is generally the period of continued rain; the coffee suffers and is often lost, falling from the trees and rotting,

rotting, unless the negroes are suffered to work at the risk of getting wet, which ought always to be avoided where possible. If, however, indispensable, it is the business of the planter to show example by sharing occasionally of the hardship; and, to encourage the negroes, by adding in compensation some small douceur in the evening. It were better, while they remain in the field under rain, that they be nearly naked. When they come home, a glass of rum, a good fire, and dry cloaths, will be necessary and comfortable. But such is the disposition of people of this description, that, after all these precautions have been taken for their preservation, they frequently dress themselves, go wantonly out into the rain, and sleep all night in their wet clothes.

The crop begins sooner or later, and lasts in proportion to the temperature of the climate. In the warmest situations, it begins in August, and is over before or by the end of October. It has, in such case, but very few and short intermissions. In cooler countries, it begins often so late as the beginning of October, and continues sometimes to the month of May. Full crop is then in December and January, unless in those months there are intervals sufficient for weeding. The blossoms follow the same course.

59.
Season.

As crop-time approaches, care must be taken that all the negroe grounds be well weeded and well stocked with provisions.

Each negroe ought to have a Basket with a handle, as also a large hamper sufficient for a burthen. These are made with bamboo, or with some of the

60.
Baskets.

CHAP. III.

creeping plants in the wood. If this creeping plant is at a distance, one day or a part of a day must be allowed to fetch it. The greater number make their hampers themselves; others are made by the negroes in the hospital, for such as are uninstructed or bunglers. They ought to last two or three years; but it is absolutely necessary to watch that the idle do not lose or destroy them, during the continuance of the crop.

61.
Processes.

In the business of weeding every negroe takes a middle row; but here, in general, each negroe takes the entire row under his charge, so that he first picks the tree on one side, and then turns round to the other, which is toilsome in steep grounds. In doing this, he sometimes lets his basket fall, and thereby loses the cherries, or loses time in picking them from the ground. Sometimes gravel is taken up at the same time, which spoils the mill. And lastly, being incumbered and in danger of falling, he lays hold of the boughs and breaks them. To preclude some of those inconveniences, some planters cause their negroes to collect the cherries in bags, hanging at the neck. Instead of this, I placed every negroe in the middle row, and caused him to pick to right and left, so that he had no occasion to turn round. The work went on quicker in this way, than it could do by means of bags; and the other inconveniences were diminished.

The negroes, with a view to get more quickly over the work, are apt to take the branch in their hands, and to strip the fruit at once into their baskets; but that must be carefully prevented, because

it

it tears the bark and strips off the leaves. The cherries ought to be picked separately by clusters. The stems are generally left; but I have observed that, when taken out without injury to the bark, the branches push forth sooner. This, however, is a nice work, when time cannot admit of it.

When the bag or hand-basket is full, it must be emptied in the hamper; and this, when full, carried to the mill, from which the negroes return to the work, (though some planters cause the coffee to be carried to the mill by mules, a very good practice where the field is at a great distance): this happens only once in the morning. Two hampers make a barrel, and the barrel is commonly the task required of each negroe, when there is plenty of ripe fruit. Some negroes, and particularly the women, who are more handy at delicate work than men, pick considerably more. A neighbour of mine, being short of negroes, offered a gratuity for each second barrel: two negroes generally completed it, and shared the gratuity. However, more than a barrel is never exacted; and even, if the distance is great, ripe fruit scarce, or the weather bad, much must be abated of this quantity.

Such cherries only as are ripe are picked, the others being left to another time. However, when the crop is urgent, the cherries may be gathered as soon as the yellow colour begins to turn red. Such coffee may perhaps be less perfect in taste, but it does well at the mill; and I never perceived it to be different in the quality required at the market. Some green coffee may remain at the last picking,

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for which it is not worth while to come again; this may be picked apart and mingled with the *scums*: it would not pass the mill. As to the dry ripe, the case is the same. But, though preferable in taste, coffee should never be suffered to dry upon the trees, for it will do them injury.

61. Quantities.

Where the crop-time continues long, a negroe may gather two thousand weight, if the plantations are not distant; where short, not more than twelve hundred weight. In the best grounds, the trees may yield as far as four pounds of sixteen ounces; though, every where, there are some particular ones which may exceed that quantity by four times. In the worst, a tree may perhaps yield no more than three or four ounces. But whatever plantation yields, in general, a pound per tree, is deemed a very good and profitable one.

63. Of Barrels.

Coffee is measured in Barrels, as it comes to the mill. When the cherries are in good plight, it is supposed that thirty-three barrels will afford a thousand weight ready for market. I have always found a benefit of five or six per cent. above this calculation. The beauty and largeness of the seed, depend upon the strength of the ground and of the tree. Old trees bear better, though perhaps smaller fruit.

The number of the barrels are every night noted in the journal.

I must repeat it again in this place, that, in grater-mills, especially cattle or water mills, which are stopped with more difficulty, it is highly necessary to watch that the negroes do not leave stones, or other hard bodies amongst the cherries. I have seen instances

instances where flints, steels, keys, and knives, have been left, by which the grater was entirely spoiled.

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I have fully explained the preparation of the coffee, in the second chapter. It now remains to take notice of the Carriage, Delivery, and Sale of that commodity, in managing which the planter has happily no occasion to forego his usual occupation.

64.
Delivery
and Sale.

As soon as coffee is cleaned, it is put into the bags in which it is intended to be carried to the market (some old ones are reserved for the use of the manufacture). They are stamped with the master's name or cypher. They contain commonly a hundred pounds weight, and every mule carries two; but, if the distance is small and the road easy, the bags may be heavier by six or ten pounds.

The evening preceding the departure for market, the carriage negroes, with the coffee-man, present themselves to weigh and tie the bags. The master seals or leads them, makes a note of what he sends, and inscribes it in the journal. Next morning, if the weather is favourable, the carriage men take the harnesses from the sadler's hands, accoutre and load the mules; the carriage driver receives the passports and the letters, and they set out. It is essential to watch the arranging of the harnesses, so that the loads be not disordered, and the mules wounded. The convoys must set out early, especially where the distance is great. It is also highly material, chiefly where the roads are steep and the distance

great,

CHAP. III. great, to bestow great attention on the fitness of the harnesses themselves. Lastly, a small tarpawling, six feet square, for the purpose of covering the bags in case of rain, would be useful.

It is often impossible to go to market and return the same day. The mules and negroes, in this case, lodge at some plantation belonging to an acquaintance of the master. But there are some planters who have a small pen on the road, with a house, the keeper of which plants grass and takes care of the inclosures: the convoy rests there all night, and next morning proceeds up to the estate.

65.
Carriers,
Coasters,

If the coffee is not carried to the town by the planter, as is mostly the case, it is remitted to public Carriers or Coasters, who convey it thither by land or by sea at a fixed price, and bring back the provisions of all kinds, which are conveyed on the unloaded mules to the plantation. The bags, in such cases, must be more securely tied and sealed; and (I am sorry to say) this even does not always prevent the frauds of those employed in the subaltern business of carrying. For this reason, leads have been contrived, bearing the cypher of the planters. For my own part, I made use of sealing-wax of a particular colour.

66. And
Factors.

An honest Factor in town receives and sells the coffee, furnishes and expedites all kinds of provisions, renders in his account once a year, and often makes advances to the planter, the whole at stated commissions or interests. Some of them are extremely valuable and attentive in their correspondence.

The

The market price of coffee has been variable, from the most early period to the present day. It has been so high as thirty Sols, and, in time of war, it has been known to fall so low as five. It then behoves the planter, as far as it can be done, to keep it for better times. These last twenty-five years it has seldom fallen below twenty Sols; and, at fifteen, the planter finds a proper interest and recompence for his advances and labour. In general, this culture is esteemed the most profitable in St. Domingo, though that of sugar, particularly clayed sugar, is highly so. The charges of sugar estates are much greater, and the net proceeds smaller in proportion. However, as they have the valuable advantage of being much more durable than coffee estates, they deserve undoubtedly a preference.

I must now say a few words of the Journal-book.

67.
Journal.

Every honest administrator ought to be ready to lay his administration open; and every owner is glad to balance accounts with himself, and to be able to refer to notes upon occasion. Such is the object of the journal.

The journal must contain a state of the negroes and cattle, a state of the births and deaths, the number, dates, and various kinds of plantations, the daily works and employment of the negroes, ordinary as well as extraordinary; the state of the crops day by day; the deliveries of coffee, as well as the price of sale and amount, as stated in the factor's letters; lastly, the state of provisions received, and of the tools, utensils, and cloaths delivered to the negroes.

This

This book, besides its other advantages, will help to form, in a more accurate and consistent manner, those *census* or returns, which the planters are bound to give the government every year, of their families, estates, lands, plantations, negroes and cattle; one of the best regulations in our admirable constitution.

I hasten to the fourth part of my task.

CHAPTER IV.

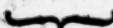
OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CARE OF THE NEGROES AND CATTLE.

IN the beginning of this work, I intimated that my views were calculated for, or drawn from the times prior to 1789. I shall, therefore, endeavour to treat this interesting subject, as I would have done in 1788. Happy period, of which nothing is left but the dear sorrowful remembrance, though some faint remote hopes remain of its returning, under that protection which, in the severe visitations of God, has not been denied to our miseries.

When one speaks of any class or description whatsoever of the human race, it must be understood that he speaks in general terms, which admit of various and numerous exceptions. It is in those *exceptions*, that great accomplishments and great defects, that great virtues and great vices, are only found.

1. The Negroe in general.

Thus, generally speaking, the negroe is not perhaps the worst species of the human race. He is an animal rational in a middle degree; tolerably good, because he is docile and timid, and because he never thinks of a better condition than what he actually enjoys, unless the thought, as well as the means of attaining, is forced upon his observation. He is little capable of actual gratitude and solid attachment; but he is endowed with a general
vague

CHAP. IV.  vague notion of right and wrong; and, as he is exceedingly jealous of what he supposes to be his due, chiefly of what has been promised to him, he is pretty well inclined to do what he knows to be his duty. Besides, he has all the defects of people of the lowest class; he perverts every thing to gratify his sloth, lust and gluttony, and, under these predicaments, he will be found an impudent liar. He is exceedingly attentive, and has sufficient skill to lay hold of every remission of discipline, to turn to his own advantage the weaknesses and examples of his master. He is imitative and apish, as the rest of the human race; and, as such, rather exerts himself to attain the evil, which presents more present and palpable enjoyments, than the good, the benefits of which are, unfortunately, almost always more abstruse and remote.

In a physical view, he is strong and robust, bears fatigue with hardiness, is little liable to distempers, as he is calculated by nature, and improved by habit, to be the inhabitant of a warm climate.

Such, nearly and in a general view, is that creature whom we are forced to keep in his *natural* state of thralldom, in order to obtain from him the requisite services; because it is now proved by experience, more decisively than by speculative reasonings, that, under a different condition, he would not labour, unless to remove actual wants, which are few and small in the West Indies. Here let the philanthropic imprudent speculator, view the present situation of things, correct his system, and profess contrition for the incalculable mis-

chief

chief he has done, in the republican parts of St. Domingo. But no more of this subject.

It is necessary, then, to turn this our property to the best account. We must exact from the negroe all the work he can reasonably perform, and use every means to prolong his life. If interest directs the first, humanity enjoins the second, and here they both go hand in hand. Happy accord! the consciousness of which forms the whole philosophical and political system of the planter; all the magic of the supreme power of one chief, and of that entire submission of the many, which would still have subsisted unimpaired in this island, had not the fatal French revolution introduced principles, incompatible with the condition of the country (a).

2. Principle of Government.

In order to make the best of the powers of the negroe, and to keep him in subjection, chastisement is unfortunately sometimes necessary. Such also is the case with soldiers, with sailors, and with all servile classes of men. But, that his life may be prolonged as long as possible, the planter must not forget that chastisement ought to be neither too severe at a time, nor too often repeated; that the negroe stands in need of quiet, of relaxation, of comforts during health; and of tender and attentive

(a) It is particularly remarkable, that while almost all the Dutch and British colonies have suffered, one time or other, the shock of local insurrections of negroes, the French colonies have never felt any thing of that kind. I can see no better reason for this, but the difference of their respective constitutions. *Ours* left the strength and power of the multitude a hidden mystery. The whole sway was, *visibly at least*, in the hands of a single man, both here and in the mother-country; and this is the exact pattern and example of the power of the master on his own estate. This is only a hint of a very extensive idea, which, if further explained, would be found to be beyond contradiction.

assistance

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assistance in times of sickness; that he must have always homely, but wholesome and abundant fare, and cloaths and lodgings suiting to the climate. The planter *has been sensible* that humanity, as well as interest, calculated on the surest grounds, direct all those things; he has not been deaf to these suggestions. Nay, who knows but gratitude may be occasionally felt. Upon recollection, the negroe will be found to do for the planter more than the planter does, and is bound to do for him. The infant and old man do not perform labour, but the one will, the other has. Care has been bestowed upon them, on account of their inabilities. The first reward appears in the zeal of their families. Honest planter, often you have seen grateful and tender feelings glow on the face of the fond mother, while you noticed and caressed the child in her arms; or in the eye of the dutiful son, who supports the decrepit old man, tottering along and groping his way to receive a daily ration from your own table. Lo! a tear trickles from thine eye. Oh, friend, thou art the happiest man in the world!

It is to you honest planters of St. Domingo, that I address this apostrophe, without flattery and without remorse. I cannot speak of the treatment of negroes in other more happy colonies; but it is justice to say, that (save in a few odious exceptions generally detested) your negroes were ruled with as much justice and humanity as with firmness. Thus, in what follows, I shall rather describe what actually was done, on the most of your estates, than what ought to have been done.

Several

Several planters are desirous of working their estates with Negroes accustomed to the country, and, to accomplish this, they pick them up singly as they find them, and more frequently in towns, or they purchase entire small gangs. Where there is a proper choice, I have no objection to this; but it is not an easy matter to effect in general. In the second instance, there is a paultry mixture of children or of decrepit invalids; in both cases, there must be a motley compound of opposite habits and dispositions, where vices will meet and ferment together.

3. Negroes accustomed to the country.

I have advised to begin with negroes ready made, because, in the hardships of a first settlement, they are better able to shift for themselves. It was partly for that reason that I recommended beginning with a small number. I also advise that a mason, a carpenter, a shingle planer, and a saddler be procured, if any of good character can be found; for want of these, young negroes are placed as apprentices with artificers. But these will not be ready in less than three years; and then they sometimes will be found to have acquired bad habits, and not even to have learned their trade.

I should prefer, in many respects, to form a gang of young Guinea Negroes of the best choice; and even when there is a sufficient number of men full grown for the labour, I would advise to purchase only boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen. Guinea negroes require, in the beginning, to be gently worked and well attended. Some may be lost in the seasoning to climate; but to counterbalance this, they are formed and disciplined according to

4. Guinea Negroes.

CHAP. IV. the master's own ideas, and it is the surest means to make a good and beautiful gang.

5.
Choice.

In the Choice of Guinea negroes, the planter ought to attend to the following circumstances: Youth, an open cheerful countenance, a clean and lively eye, fresh lips, sound teeth, a strong neck, a broad and open chest, sinewy arms, dry and large hands, a flat belly, strong loins and haunches, round thighs, dry knees, muscular calves, lean ancles, high feet and lean; an easy and free movement of the limbs; and a middling stature, or rather small.

The Congo, Arada, and Thiamba, are the best nations. Women, in general, do not admit of so much nicety of choice in this respect, because, all over the coast of Guinea, women are accustomed to work for the men. A gang ought to be, as much as possible, composed of the same nation. I preferred the Congos. They are docile, and work pretty well, provided they are well fed.

6.
Cares.

As soon as Guinea negroes are purchased, the first Care is to have them well bathed with warm water, in order to take off the palm oil, with which they are rubbed on ship-board. This is necessary, as it intercepts perspiration. They must next be clothed as the climate requires (a): It is likewise extremely necessary to cause them to drink, for the space of a fortnight, a sudorifick potion, (as the dock water) to forward the eruption of cutaneous distempers, which the ship surgeons have often barbarously repressed, and which produce fatal consequences. If direct suspicion of this is

(a) I cannot omit the unpleasing but necessary practice of stamping them.

entertained,

entertained, it is better to reproduce the itch; and then to cure it methodically. They ought to be christened also as soon as possible. Some planters stand godfathers for all their negroes, to keep them free from the superstitious and abusive power of godfathers and mothers of their own colour.

I prefer setting negroes to work as soon as they arrive, but this must be done by degrees; avoiding exposure at first to cold rains and dews, because the climate to which they have been accustomed, is different from that of the mountains of St. Domingo; for the same reason, I should advise to purchase Guinea negroes only in the spring. They require also to be particularly watched by the drivers, on account of their distempers.

There are a few planters who judge it proper to commit new negroes in trust to the care of their other negroes. These make servants of them, and in general use them with very little regard, if not with severity. On the contrary, let the planter take the charge upon himself; let him lodge them under his eye; watch over their personal concerns in all respects, ascertain that their food is prepared and distributed regularly twice a day, until they are in a condition to be left to themselves. It is then the time to give them a ground well settled and planted; a house and bed, a kettle, a porringer, a vessel for water, a knife, two suits of cloaths, two hens and a mate, if wanted or wished for. When they are thus settled, it is still necessary to watch them for a time, more carefully than over the others.

The planter who wishes to work at ease, to

M 2

execute

CHAP. IV.

execute all his works properly, and to spare his negroes, ought to have a fifteenth part more than is absolutely necessary for the labour of the estate. But I own this happens seldom; ambition, and the facility of extending the plantations, being great temptations to cause deviations from this rule.

I shall now speak of the different employments of negroes.

7.
Artificers.

It is the custom that the Artificers go into the fields, when not employed at their own trade. The carpenters and tilers must visit, every now and then, the houses and roofs, to keep them in repair. The mason, before the crops, must see that the basons and platforms are in good order. He must also refit all the other works in his province, without waiting till the decays are considerable. On the day of every journey, the saddler must give out, and, at the return, take back the saddles, pannels and harnesses, refit them immediately, dry them, and grease them with fish oil. It is sufficient expertness for a saddler to be able to make cruppers, breast leathers, girths, and the like, and to refit a saddle neatly. One man may have the knowledge of, and actually practise two trades. The mason may also be a saddler. It is evident, that the watching over all those concerns requires the eye of the master.

8.
Driver.

It is commonly and justly said, that Drivers or Commanders are the soul of a plantation. Before they are appointed to this situation, their character ought to be well known; it is the business of the master to form them. They ought to possess fidelity,

fidelity, affection, intelligence, sobriety, discretion, justice, and severity. They should know to preserve distance and authority, make themselves acquainted with all that the negroes do or intend to do, chiefly during night, keep an eye upon the nocturnal visits and excursions; observe, while at work, if any are indisposed, give attention to every thing, and render account of every thing to the master. Lastly, to be perfectly skilled in work of every kind.

The drivers are allowed to punish the negroes, but not to a greater extent than five lashes. Such faults as require more severe correction are reported to the master, to be chastised according to his directions. In all cases, where more than four negroes work together, a driver is necessary; and, where the land is steep and intersected with ravines, a driver can hardly watch, in a proper manner, over the work of more than thirty.

The place of the driver is behind the gang. He walks through all the rows, observes if any thing is wrong, calls the negroe back that he may rectify his faults, teaches him where he is ignorant, punishes him if he commits errors repeatedly through neglect or through obstinacy. The driver must only teach, and never do the work of a common negroe. He must be respected, and when chastised must be chastised in private, unless for faults which require that he be degraded to the ranks.

In the distributions of cloth, a double share is given to the drivers, if they have behaved properly.

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The drivers wear a staff and a whip, as ensigns of their authority.

9. Drivers of Mules.

The Driver, or Chief of the Negroes and Mules, employed in carriage, should be faithful, sober, and attentive to the care and good plight of his beasts. He ought to know to cure their wounds and ordinary distempers. In journies he must have, over the negroes under him, the same authority as the drivers in the field. To conduct twelve mules, six negroes are necessary, of whom three should be sufficiently strong to lift and carry the bags of coffee.

10. Coffee-man.

The Coffee-man (I mean he who has the care of mills, platforms, and of superintending the manufacture) is also a kind of commander or driver in his department. It is necessary that he be skillful in his employment, attentive and careful in looking after the machines, and every other thing designed for improving the quality of coffee. He must be particularly attentive in observing, and ought to have skill in foreseeing, rain, that the coffee may be housed or sheltered on threatening appearances.

11. Pruners.

The Pruners ought to be handy, intelligent, diligent and careful in preserving their tools. Negroes are pleased with this work, as, in reality, they seem to have a pleasure in whatever carries the appearance of destruction. It is thus that when they fell wood, the fall of great trees is announced by huzzas of joy.

12. Hospital Matron.

The Hospital Matron or Doctress must be a woman of middling age, of a compassionate disposition, careful and affectionate, of a robust constitution,

stitution, capable of bearing fatigue and watching. It is required that she have skill to dress ordinary wounds and sores, to deliver pregnant women, which, as births are here mostly natural and easy, is an easy matter. It is her duty to keep the hospital and patients clean; and, as she will not be permitted to sleep abroad, it is proper she be lodged so as not to suffer the privation of usual gratifications. Long experience with the practical knowledge of simples, have set some of those women, in many respects, above surgeons too frequently met with in the mountains. I had one, the loss of whom I shall regret all my life.

Where the gang is rather numerous, the doctress must have an assistant, to learn the art under her direction, and to execute the works of drudgery.

I became tired of those mountain surgeons, who frequently could not be found at the time they were wanted; and who, in general, are equally destitute of capacity and of zeal. I learned to bleed with very little trouble; and, by the help of doctor Buchan's Domestic Medicine, a work (a) which I cannot too earnestly recommend to the planters. I performed the office of physician to my sick negroes, aided by the labours of my intelligent and faithful *Mari-Anna*. I only called for the surgeon in cases which required manual operations, or when any one dangerously sick desired such assistance, but it was seldom of much avail. Such instances, however, were rare, and things in general went well,

(a) It has been translated into French, and improved with notes, by no means unworthy the original, by Dr. Duplanit, physician to his royal highness count d'Artois.

13. Child
Keeper.

The Keeper of Children is usually a woman advanced in years, to whom an easy employment must be assigned. She ought to be careful, patient, and fond of the state of infancy.

14. Poul-
try Maid.

The care of Poultry is also an employment for old age; it is very easy. All the negroe women manage it perfectly well, on their own account; for it requires only faithfulness and attention. However, it generally happens that, wherever there is not a landlady to direct and manage the business, little good is obtained, particularly in the mountains; for, while the negroes have poultry in abundance, the master perhaps cannot muster a chicken.

The care of the pigeons, rabbits, and fattening hogs, falls into this employment.

15.
Keepers.

The Keepers of provision-grounds are also old negroes, but still capable of some exertion. They are armed with a spear, and attended by a dog. They ought to sleep in the day and watch in the night, in the grounds of both the master and negroes. They must be faithful as well as watchful, particularly if there is any new settler, or any planter in want of provisions, in the neighbourhood. To these is intrusted the charge of cutting the plantains, and of digging and replanting for the servants of the house and for the hospital.

In general an estate has people set apart for keeping of cattle; but if the negroes employed on this duty are not changed every week, they become idle and licentious. If the pastures are well inclosed, there is no occasion for them, as the servants who look after the cattle in the morning, may drive them

them in or out of the pastures at stated times, without inconvenience or much trouble (*a*).

I pass now to the gang in general, and, in the first place, to what relates to the important article of population.

It cannot be denied but that a number of children occasion great loss of labour in the mothers, which perhaps overbalances the actual benefit. But it must be considered, that these children are bonds of love, which bind the negroes to the soil and to the master; and nothing evinces so strongly the satisfaction, happiness and welfare of this class of people, as a great population, which besides will, one day or other, furnish recruits for the field. In short, humanity commands that care be bestowed upon this subject, and it affords, in reality, a pleasing sensation, to be surrounded with a black brood of these infants lisping out the word papa.

16. Population.

But though population is desirable, it is not always an easy matter to attain it. Sometimes women have an aversion to a situation which checks their amours, and they, consequently, endeavour to prevent pregnancy, or to procure abortion by forced means. It is then that strict watchfulness is necessary. On the one hand, encouragements to favour pregnancy, on the other severity to prevent voluntary and early miscarriages must be tried. Be aware of this, if women come to the hospital with sudden floodings, and particularly if, in remote places, you find the alegate pear-trees and others of that kind stripped of their bark. I was witness to an

(*a*) If precipices are found in the savannas, they must be fenced round,

instance

instance where every method failed, till such time as the women were bound to declare their situation every month, which was verified and registered, and an iron collar was fixed upon those who miscarried, till their ensuing pregnancy was well ascertained; unless where the cause of miscarriage was evident and well known.

Both religion and good manners enjoin that the negroes be united in lawful wedlock. But wedlock ill agrees with the natural levity and fickleness of this class of people. Nay, experience has shown that regular marriage would be the means of converting peaceable concubinage into adultery, discords, and deadly feuds. Some evils are unavoidable, and his Holiness himself is obliged to license brothels at Rome, however repugnant to his character of sanctity.

It is necessary, as much as is possible, to procure an equal number of men and women. Intercourse of the sexes should be prevented, as much as can be done, between the neighbouring plantations; matches should be promoted by small benefits and encouragements; concord maintained between man and wife, without pretending altogether to fetter inconstancy. Here only gentle means must be used; for the natural affections and passions of men are seldom restricted by open force. The women ought to be rewarded in their pregnant state, or while rearing, more especially if the fathers are among themselves.

17. Women with Child.

As soon as a woman is so far advanced in pregnancy, that hard labour might endanger a miscarriage, she is employed in works about the house, as in picking or turning coffee upon the platforms,

or

or in sewing for the negroes; always taking care that she be not suffered to lift heavy weights or carry burthens.

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When the pregnant negresse begins to feel the approaches of her labour, she is brought to the hospital. Her room must be without fire, well aired; but the wind must not blow directly upon her bed. The delivery is usually very natural, and performed by the doctress, who is generally instructed in the business. In cases of any difficulty, a surgeon is called to attend.

18. In Child-bed,

It is a practice among the negroes not to offer the breast to the child before a certain time, and to give him, mean while, different things, such as wine and oil. These do harm, if they do any thing. The first milk of the mother, is the medicine prepared by nature to purge off the meconium; and if the breasts are suffered to grow too big, by the abundance of milk, great inconveniences may be the consequence. As soon as the mother and child are dressed, and have taken some rest, the breast must be offered, without waiting until swelling comes on. The child will generally take to it, if not at the first, at the second or third trial.

19. Infants.

Upon the whole, the many prejudices of the negroes (which are of the same sort as among the lower ranks of people in Europe) must be guarded against; and Dr. Buchan's directions closely attended to. I also recommend, upon this subject, an excellent small treatise of Mad. Anel le Rebours, (*avis aux mères qui veulent nourris leurs enfants*) Directions for the Mothers who wish to nurse their own Children,

It

It is a laudable practice to christen provisionally the children, as commonly the church rites are not entered into till after some time.

The mother and child, when every thing goes well, may be sent out after twelve or fourteen days. The ninth day is supposed to be the term of the critical period for the child.

It is customary to give the midwife a small gratuity for every successful delivery. The mother also receives a complete suit of clean cloaths, either when the child has passed the first dangers, or when he is weaned.

There is an evil known in St. Domingo by the name of (*mal de machoire*) *fallen jaw*. It is a kind of tetanos or spasm, which affects the jaws and throat, and cuts off the action of swallowing, and the possibility of sucking. It is an opinion too generally entertained, that this disorder originates exclusively from actual malice or violence. The suspicion has gained credit, from the frequency of this malady on certain estates, while those in the neighbourhood did not suffer in any degree; as also from its disappearing entirely, when means of watchfulness to prevent it, and severity in punishing it, have been employed. The event of this happening cannot be denied; but the truth is, spasm may proceed from mere unskilfulness of the people employed about the infant, as, if the breast is large and full, and the mother suffers its weight to press upon the child's feeble chin. It may also be occasioned by neglect, as if, the room being close and heated by a great fire (as is the general practice with negroes in this situation) sudden streams of cold air are suffered

to rush in upon the child. Besides, this part of the human race seem to be more liable to spasmodic affections than the whites. It must, however, be owned, that sometimes exterior marks of violent pressure have been discovered on the throat; and it is certain that pressure may be made, to a degree, dangerous to the life of a tender child, without leaving visible traces. In all cases, inflammations, swelling, and incapacity of sucking, is the consequence, and the unhappy little wretch is beyond the power of relief, and necessarily dies of the actual malady, and of the consequent inanition: but the real cause is hardly discoverable, because, whatever it may have been, the effects are the same.

It is extremely necessary to take precautions against the effects of awkwardness and neglect, as well as bad intention. No fire must be allowed in the room, which must be kept open, though care be taken that the current of air does not strike upon the bed of the mother and child. During the first nine days, no one except the midwife, nor even the reputed father, must be permitted to enter the chamber. The midwife must watch the manner of giving the breast, chiefly in the drowzy hours of night. Both she and the mother must be made acquainted that no excuses will be admitted, nor accidents of neglect overlooked. If accidents should happen, the ordinary gratuities will not be paid, and even severe penalties may be inflicted; but all this must be mentioned only when the mother is out of danger, and at a time when it may be proper to execute the sentence.

The master supplies the mother with a complete
set

CHAP. IV. set of childbed linen, and he clothes the infant, till he can wear cloaths of a coarser texture. Perhaps, if negroe children were stripped naked, as soon as they begin to crawl, until they arrive at the age of six or seven, it would be better both in point of cleanliness and of bodily strength.

Besides, as soon as the child is past danger of fallen jaws, he is allowed, for the benefit of his parents, an entire share of cloth, salt, and salted provisions; the same as other negroes.

20.
Nurses.

Negresses do not go to work till three or four weeks after delivery, and, while nursing, do not appear in it till an hour after the rest of the gang. The children are laid under the shade, and one or two negro girls attend them. But as the nurses do but little work in the field, under pretence of suckling, it is better to employ them in the manufacture at home, or in the garden, and about the house.

As a farther encouragement to population, one day in the week is granted to every mother, for each living child, so that when a mother has six, no more service is required of her; a state called here *household freedom*, and very different from the legal one. In such cases, the negroes labour on their own account, within the precincts of the estate, to the police and discipline of which they are subject; not being allowed to go up and down at their will, which is the privilege only of perfect freedom.

21.
Children.

The age of sixteen or eighteen months is the period for weaning the Children if they are healthy; after this, they are left to the keeper's care, when the mother goes to work. She takes them only at her return in the evening. The keeper leads them

to bathe every day, and keeps them clean of vermin. When the master sits at breakfast and dinner, brings them before the door, or into the gallery, and gives them the food prepared for them. No more is necessary or proper. If an afternoon meal were added, it would not prevent the parents from cramming them again in the evening, which might be hurtful. All day long they amuse or plague the master with noisy playful tricks: these should be encouraged; but they must not be suffered to go upon the platforms, as they would spoil them in various ways. The keeper does not omit to make them repeat a short morning prayer.

When they arrive at the age of six or seven years, they are at the charge of their parents; but it is proper to begin instructing them in some work or other. The first may be some needle-work, whatever be the sex; at nine or ten, they are employed in some other manner, but in a manner corresponding to the capacity. Where there is a sufficient number of boys and girls from twelve to sixteen, it is customary to form them into a small separate gang, employed in weeding and in gathering coffee. As soon as they are of sufficient age and strength, they are transferred to the great gang. Grounds, houses, utensils, and two hens, are then given them; and they are at liberty to marry.

I come now to the Gang in general.

23.
Gang.

One hour before day-light, the bell and the whip of the driver calls up the negroes, that they dress their breakfast in time: then, all the doors and windows of their houses should be thrown open, to prepare them for going into the cold air.

The

^{23.}
Works.]

The negroes repair to their Work at the point of day, under the conduct of a driver, who reckons and sees that his number is complete. At nine or ten, half or three quarters of an hour is allowed for breakfast; at noon, they cease from their labour till two; when they return and continue till sun-set.

Such is the more usual order of things; but, in the greater part of the mountains, the negroes prefer to continue at work till an hour and half before sun-set. This is also more profitable for the master. In this case the hour of breakfast is later, and the time allowed longer. Except in the time of crop, they bring, on their return in the evening, stones or packs of grass, which they gather or cut in the fields. The young ones go for the provisions, which the keepers have gathered or dug for the hospital and house servants. In crop time, care is taken that the wives of such negroes as are employed at the mills, carry and prepare their provisions.

There is no doubt, but that if negroes would only be sent to work after sun-rise, some distempers would be prevented; but the daily loss of an hour is more attended to. As soon as the sun is up, the jackets must be thrown off. When the negroes have been employed in works more toilsome than usual, or when they have been wet with rain, it is customary to give them a glass of rum; though in the latter instance, Dr. Buchan prefers a warm aromatic infusion, as of lemon-tree tops, and gives very convincing reasons for the preference.

It is neither necessary nor perhaps proper (particularly where the drivers are trusty and skilful)
that

that the master or overseer remain constantly behind the negroes at work, and still less when they are weeding or gathering. It is only fit that he be there for an hour in the morning, to see in what manner they exert themselves, and what they are capable of doing during the day. He ought to come again towards evening, to see if time has been lost, to view every place, and observe if any thing has been neglected or badly executed, and to make the drivers responsible for such neglect. In the intervals of the day, it will be proper that he visit the other plantations, provision grounds, savannas, inclosures, and roads, to see where labour is most necessary; and he must also bestow attention upon the manufacture of coffee and the hospital.

Thus the whole week is employed; and those holidays with which our Roman calendar is overcharged with a profusion, offensive to culture and industry, are very little attended to. But Sunday is the Christian's day of rest, and given in property to the negroes. If circumstances compel a surrender of this privilege, amends are made, either by another day next week, or, in crop time, by a compensation, and, even in the last case a part of the Sunday is always allowed to them for their own business.

24.
Sundays.

On these days the negroes are called up only at day-break. The first care is the kettle and food. Next, the houses are to be cleaned, both within and without. It is proper that the master inspect this, as also inspect that the beds are in good order, for these people must not be suffered to sleep

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upon the ground by the fire, as they are disposed to do. It will be well also that he examine if the houses or roofs have any need of repair, and if so to cause the repair to be made next day.

At seven the negroes repair to prayers upon the platforms, where all the tools are produced for the examination of the master. After this follows the distribution of salt or salted fish, on the Sundays alternately. While this is done, the doctress examines the feet of the slothful, and causes the chigos to be taken out.

Then the negroes pursue their own business, as washing their cloaths, planting, weeding, gathering provisions, arranging their grounds. At evening they bring a bundle of fuel for the hospital, the kitchen, the laundress, the baker, and one of grass for the cattle. This wood is gathered from planted grounds, as long as stumps of trees remain; afterwards where it can be found.

What I have said (Ch. 1. No. 43.) on the distribution and planting of the negroe grounds, must be carried in mind. It is proper that the master occasionally walk through these plantations, while the negroes are present, to inspect them, and form regulations for their being kept in good order.

On Saturday or Sunday evening, the negroes are allowed to dance upon the platforms, never at their own houses, till nine o'clock. But foreign negroes must not be admitted.

25. Commerce in
Towns and
Boroughs.

Negroes are fond of going to the next Towns and Boroughs, to sell their eggs, fowls, and corn, and to buy what they may want. For this purpose,

certain

certain number of tickets or passes are given every Saturday night by rotation. They generally set off early in the morning, and must return at sunset. But, though this is a general practice, it is proved in experience to be attended with heavy inconveniences to the master, and to be hurtful to the health of the negroe. It is, in fact, a great source of corruption; a truth which, I believe, wants no illustration.

Though a situation remote from town, or from the landing places, is, in many respects, an inconvenience, I considered mine as advantageous, on account of its distance. The negroes in my district never went abroad. I brought from the Cape all the articles which my negroes desired. These they received at the first cost, so that all the profits of retail were saved to them. The payment was made in fowls, eggs, or other productions, at stated or market prices. I kept notes, and our little accounts were always fairly settled to mutual satisfaction. The negroes had good commodities cheap; and my table was supplied with what, in the general practice, would have been carried to a foreign market. It were to be wished, that this rule were followed every where. Under this head, I observe that hawkers ought to be cautiously admitted into estates, and never be permitted to enter into, or to stay, in the negroe houses. They are often retailers of corruption, and promoters of bad inclinations.

The Property of the Negroe living or dead ought to be, as it really is, sacred to the master, and his

16. The
Negroes
Property.

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exclusive right to his wife still more so, if possible (a). I have no occasion to enlarge upon a matter so well understood, and so generally respected: but as the negroe ought not to be suffered to want any thing that is necessary to his health and welfare, it is equally material to guard against the hurtful vanity of making him rich. Luxury insensibly creeps in, and corruption follows in its train. Unwilling as I am to recal the memory of our misfortunes and calamities, I cannot avoid observing, that the foolish fancy of enriching negroes was but too common and extravagant among us. The revolt was hatched, and did actually make its first appearance among the negroes of Galifer's near the Cape, who were much the richest of all the plain. I have seen on this plantation, on a Sunday evening, three hundred fellows as gaudily dressed as the most elegant servants in town. I have even seen ten hampers of white bread sold at the negroe houses. I have also seen an old house-slave who had two slaves of her own; and an old carpenter negroe dining upon soup and fowls, the table laid with a fine cloth, napkins, silver spoons and forks; his wife sat at a distance, and their children attended them; yet it was not upon a Sunday. The attorney of the estate valued himself upon this wealth and apparent comfort of the slaves; but was otherwise affected, regarding it as a sight of no good omen. The respectable man fell the first victim, by the hands of those very villains to whom

(a) Upon the last article, the young subalterns employed in the estate must be kept within great discretion, the want of which has more than once been attended with shocking consequences.

had afforded the means of attaining those superfluities. (Mr. Odelucq, my honest and good friend.)

From the reason above mentioned, and because the destruction which hogs make in the ground provisions, as also their daily maintenance, occasion famine upon an estate, notwithstanding every care, it is absolutely necessary to prohibit such stock, as also to prohibit having property in cows or mares. It is enough that negroes have plenty of fowls, ample grounds, and every other assistance necessary from the master's hands.

I come now to the New Year's Day. *Nunc formosissimus annus.*

27.
New Year's
Day.

This is the day, but the only one, of Saturnals softened into a chearful orderly diversion (*a*). An ox has been killed the preceding evening, and a vast provision of victuals prepared. The cloth is divided into rations, the lots set apart with the hats and jackets. Munificence has paved the way to festivity and affection. The morning just begins to dawn, when a hurricane of drums, of discordant shouts and African songs, awake the master from his slumbers. When he comes forth, opening his eyes to the twilight, and his soul to benevolence, rustick compliments and whimsical wishes are poured upon him in abundance. Pardons are granted, a general amnesty takes place. The cloathing of the year is dis-

(*a*) A planter of St. Domingo can hardly give credit to the reports made of *Christmas*, where dissolute festivity and drunkenness seem to favour of outrageous riot, for three days together or more; and appears as teeming with dangerous consequences, if the reports are not exaggerated.

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tributed, with a glass of rum, the conclusion of every ceremony of the day. They, after some frolicks, go to dress themselves in their best cloaths: they return and begin to dance. Meanwhile the kettles boil, and the ball breaks up to give time for breakfast. The glass of rum re-animates the spirits. The dance is resumed with redoubled alacrity. The time of dinner arrives, after which they are again treated with a dram of rum. Meanwhile the sun declines, followed with a refreshing coolness, favourable to exertion. Now the goddess of mirth extends her influence over all. Every mind is gay and every heart is dilated. Love flies around, shaking his firebrand and darting his arrows. Jack, Tom, and Dick, are hard at work with Betsy, Susan, and Anna. One outvies the other, and all contend for the praise of the day. A large croud of gazers hang upon the lively match, and every one keeps his breath in anxious expectation of victory for his friend. Tom seems to slacken. A murmur is heard around. His fair Susan, blushing if she could, is struck at the heart. A glance is darted, expressive of sorrow, shame, anger, and love. Tom finds new strength, and takes the brisk gambol afresh. The sparks grasp and twist their mates, make them whirl and jump with contending emulation. Then the dance rages more and more lively and swift. Every nerve is in motion, every exertion raised to the utmost. All the powers of youth and pleasure keep pace with the drums, now beating with tenfold quickness. The croud presses round, more attentive, more silent, more anxious. The knave

Jack

Jack gives Dick the trip, and poor Anna falls beneath him. At the unexpected trick the whole gang thunders out a laughing and shouting. Lo! *The bell strikes ten!* The master comes forth and says, "Friends, it is enough; here is the last dram, "and let us go and rest for the labour of to-morrow."

At the awful voice and solemn address, deep silence follows; every body withdraws; and the ensuing night is as quiet as any in the year (*a*).

What fashionable town assembly is preferable to this, to a man who feels that happiness which he bestows upon others! He must not, however, give himself up blindly to the overflowings of his benevolence, but moderate the excesses which tumultuous mirth might beget. No quarrels, no excursions will be permitted. Strangers will not be rudely turned away; nay, they will share the dram; but they will be watched and dismissed with courtesy at night. The platforms round the master's house are the scene of all this gambol. The negroe huts are, as it were, abandoned. The man at the helm must not lose sight of any of the crew.

The lot of a negroe is seven elns (*b*) of cloth. The women get eight, which makes two suits. Some needles and thread are added, with a woollen jacket, instead of which some planters (perhaps with better reason) give in preference a large linen sheet, though

(*a*) In the great towns the assemblies are more numerous and motley; but good watch is kept every where; no disorder is suffered; and night puts a final stop to all the noise and festivity.

(*b*) An eln consists of three feet seven inches and eight lines. Eight elns are equal to ten yards; and our French coarse cloth is broad by more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an eln.

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the negroes are more fond of jackets. A hat also is given to the drivers, and to the other chief negroes, and a couple of handkerchiefs to the mothers. Here the first expence is a real saving. I imported all these articles directly from France, at a higher price, but of a better quality; so that I had the pleasure of seeing the cloaths of my people last far into the next year; while the cloaths and jackets imported by merchants, were sometimes of the worst kind. But in all cases the master is obliged to watch over the preservation of the cloaths, the negroes being, for the greatest part, naturally careless and unprovident. He is also obliged to get some suits made in the hospital, or by the maids and nurses, for such as cannot do them themselves.

28. Discipline and Punishments.

It is painful, after describing the preceding cheerful scene, to speak instantly of Discipline and Punishments; but my subject compels me to it. Particulars would be too disgusting; I shall content myself to sketch out the general heads.

The most heinous misdemeanours (for crimes are not comprehended in this subject) are offences of insubordination, first to the master, and next to the drivers.

In the second place, the wrongs which the negroes are guilty of towards one another, as by assault and battery, theft, adultery, and rape, &c.

The former ought never to be pardoned; and, for the latter, the party aggrieved must have, *moreover*, ample amends or reparation made to him.

Next come the faults against general order; as running away, nocturnal excursions, introduction of strangers

strangers at night, clandestine and forbidden commerce, thefts of valuable things belonging to the master, as money, goods, furniture, cattle of all kinds, fowls, &c. These are always liable to punishment.

Next come thefts of fruits and provisions, and faults committed through laziness and neglect. Here indulgence has more latitude. The third or the fourth is to be punished, if ignorance of the former is pretended on plausible grounds; for the negroe must be made to believe that the most trifling fault will not escape punishment, if it falls within the notice of the master.

The usual penalties are flogging, confinement, simple or in the stocks, and carrying a chain or collar, though the continued sight of the latter is painful. I am not inclined to recommend stopping any allowances, which may be necessary to the negroe's health.

Punishments must be *certain*, immediately inflicted, proportionable to the fault, and never excessive. Racks, tortures, mayhems, mutilations, and death, are reserved for crimes of an atrocious nature, and fall only within the province of the public magistrate; though perhaps more speedy executions, and particularly on the spot, would have more striking effect. But the laws have wisely placed those powers beyond the cognizance of the master, and do not fail to avenge the trespasses committed against their authority. A stated price is paid to the master, from the public revenue, for such negroes as are condemned to death or perpetual punishment.

In the management of private discipline, it is
essential

CHAP. IV. essential to be acquainted with the character of the offender, that such punishment may be preferred as is most likely to deter him from offending again. It is fortunate when, from that knowledge, you may venture to spare the revolting ceremony of flogging. The hand of the driver to be employed in punishing, is also a matter worth observation. Twenty lashes from one, may be more severe than a hundred from another. The knots of the whip must also be new: a knot, dipped in the blood of a man infected with distempers, may perhaps communicate evil to another, by way of inoculation. This is not sufficiently attended to.

Lastly, never threaten a negroe with punishment at a future time; and never chastise in anger, where you run a risk of exceeding the proper bounds. The coolness and temper of the master increases the moral effect of the chastisement; and a negroe menaced may abscond or run away, so that punishment for two faults is to be inflicted instead of one.

I am confident that a code of regulations of the above tendency, is not calculated to draw upon planters the slanders, with which they have been loaded, by those pretended philanthropists, who have usurped the name of *friends to negroes*, which, in reality, more truly belongs to us.

29. Menial
Servants.

I shall be very short upon the subject of Servants. These are in the most comfortable situation. But the fewer you have, the better; and it is a rule never to let them be idle. When the business of the house is finished, the men are employed in assisting in the heaviest works of manufacture, or care of the horses and cattle. The women sew for the children,

children, hospital, and new negroes. Both work in the garden, pick coffee, and the like. CHAP. IV.

I come now to the state of Sickness; and here the father steps into the master's place.

30.
The Sick,

Never turn back any one. A negroe presents himself in the morning, especially on Mondays: "*Sir, I am sick*;" his eye is clear, his tongue clean, his skin cool, and his belly soft. It is ten to one but he pretends illness; yet, perhaps, he really has occasion for a few days' rest. Let him go to the hospital; take away the pipe; put him upon low diet, with plenty of water and clifters; and he will be glad to be dismissed after two or three days.

Let the drivers have a watchful eye in this respect. A good negroe is seen to slacken at work, or to fail at his meals; let him be sent directly to the hospital, and, of course, to the master's previous examination. Another has a small excoriation on the leg; let him be sent instantly, otherwise a large sore may be the consequence; and what might have been cured in three days may last perhaps for a month. The surest way, in such cases, is to put the sick in the stocks. These accidents are frequent in stony steep lands. Dust, mud, and dew, aggravate scratches to ulcers in a short time, independent of the acrimony of the blood of the individual, a more immediate cause. Negroes, fond of labour, dislike the hospital; and it is such that must be principally watched. On the contrary, there are others who irritate an accidental sore, or actually form one on purpose. For those the hospital must be made as disagreeable as possible. When cured and convicted, they ought to be punished.

The

The sexes, as has been said, ought to be in rooms apart. The different kinds of distempers, and especially those of a contagious nature, must not be mixed indiscriminately. All fevers, agues, itch, tetter, pox, and the like, must be separated from the sores and other simple diseases.

Every thing must be kept in a state of the most perfect cleanness. It is to be wished that the floor were paved with bricks, that it may be occasionally washed. The beds should be sprinkled with boiling water to destroy vermin. Every couch for the sick must have a palliasse, two pair of sheets, and a blanket. Hospital shirts or shifts must be furnished for the negroes at entrance. They leave them at their departure. If negroes in hospital have no other than their usual cloaths, they must necessarily be dirty and lousy; and, for this reason, the body should be bathed and the head shaved, when they are admitted into the hospital. There must be a provision of kettles and potter's ware, sufficient to make and contain drinks and ptisans, and for other purposes.

The master must have, in his own closet, a pharmacy furnished with small quantities, but often recruited, of the usual simple and compounded medicinal drugs; with two mortars and pestles, the one of brass and the other of marble, a balance of middle size, and a little one with their weights. Every night he himself weighs and gives the medicines to the doctress, taking care, by precise directions, to prevent mistakes.

A journal book is usually kept in the hospital,
where

where the dates of admission and discharge of patients are inserted, and where the surgeon writes his prescriptions for the following days. I have given my opinion (too freely perhaps) of these gentlemen. It admits of exceptions, amongst whom I beg those who will take offence to rank themselves. But though often deficient in requisite knowledge and attention, they are always necessary for luxations, fractures, and other manual operations.

Independent of cutaneous, venereal, and febrile disorders (the last of which are not very common amongst the negroes in high mountains) the most frequent diseases are colds, fluxions on the breast, worms, diarrhæas, and dysenteries, the latter are often epidemical. Inveterate sores are often venereal or scorbutick. The marasmus or wasting, tending to dissolution, and dropsy of new negroes, generally proceed from cutaneous diseases repressed. It is then the safest way to reproduce the original distemper. In the latter cases wine and substantial food are highly necessary.

I neither am able, nor is this a fit place, to attempt to treat of these diseases. I shall only say again, that an accurate study of Dr. Buchan's work, will enable a man of tolerable discernment, to cure all of them, with better success than could be expected from the desultory visits of common practitioners. Dr. Tissot's *advice to the people on health*, is also a valuable book, but neither so extensive nor so accurate as the other, particularly with the notes of the translator. In general, reliance on the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, assisted with exact observation of the

CHAP. IV.

the origin and progress of the disease; a good regimen, few remedies given at a proper time, and careful nursing, does all that medicine can do. The gossiping prescriptions of old women must not be allowed, though there are many simples, which the country affords, and many well tried receipts, by no means contemptible.

The negroes, before they are received into the hospital, are presented to the master. He examines and prescribes for them. To him belongs (or to his wife, if he is blessed with one who does not dislike the business) the exclusive direction of his own hospital. To visit it is his first care in the morning, which visit he repeats as often as is necessary. I could name more planters than one who have taken patients, when in danger, into their own bedrooms.

Besides no negroe, when in good health, ought ever to be permitted to come into or near the hospital, unless merely to inform themselves of the state of their children, wife or husband, and parents; and it must be particularly attended to, that they bring with them neither pipes nor improper food.

The soup, broth, wine, and bread of the master, are never too good for those who are seriously ill. A bullock's head may be provided, thrice a week, for the others, with an allowance of coarse flour bread and ground provisions.

It is not in our power to attend our sick negroes with the same assiduity and watchfulness as we do our wives and children; but, in the essential things, little difference is made. The frames and
distempers

distempers are similar, except that negroes do not bear low diet so well as whites.

CHAP. IV.

The convalescent negroes must not be dismissed before they are able to work. Even then, one or two days are allowed them for putting their own provision ground in good order, according to the time it may have been without attention.

I come now to Old Age.

31.
The Old.

Light employments (as has been seen) are given to negroes, as they begin to fall into the decline of years.

But as they sink into decrepitude, retirement and rest, with affectionate usage, to alleviate the pains and hardships of bodily infirmities, are a debt due to humanity, and an acknowledgment for long services. A man of reflection and sensibility, cannot fail to be moved at the sight of that privileged creature, who after fulfilling, in an useful manner, the functions of his station on earth, through all the periods of life, stands upon the brink of eternity, about to be re-united to the Author of his being.

Take care, then, not to afflict the good old man, by dragging him from his old mansion, his family, and his habits, under the idea of having him more within the reach of your care and attention. It is better to make his house more comfortable; to furnish him with warmer cloaths, and to supply his wants partly from your own table. Do not forget a glass of wine, the best milk of old age. Visit him often. If he suffers, comfort him and relieve his distress. If he is sick, encrease the usual care, He will bless you, and the blessings of a good old man will be placed to your account of credit before

CHAP. IV. before the Almighty. The youth will thus be encouraged to serve you, and inclined to love you, a prospect of comfort being placed before their eyes, after the toils of life. If you ever descend into your own heart, there you will find an inexpressible sentiment of approbation.

32.
Cattle.

I shall, lastly, speak briefly of Cattle and of Beasts of every kind.

Those cattle must be preferred which are young, and have been bred up in the neighbourhood. Such as come from dry places are with difficulty kept in good plight, under the climate and on the four pastures of the mountains.

They must neither be kept always under shelter, nor left entirely exposed to rain, to dews, or to heat. In the fine weather of winter, and in the nights and mornings of summer, they must be suffered to stray about and browse; but they require to be kept in the stables, in the most burning hours of summer, and in the rains or chill nights of winter. I have said enough of the savannas, Chap. 1. No. 44, and 46; and of Stables, Ch. 2, No. 59.

33.
Horses.

From what has been said, it is plain that a planter, desirous of taking proper care of his estate, can only ride out on business, or make short visits, occasionally, for the sake of intercourse with friends or neighbours; and that, therefore, a very small number of Horses will be sufficient for his purposes. He must, however, take peculiar care of them. Horses from America, commonly pacers, are preferred, but creoles are more easily fed and more certainly serviceable.

He

34.
Mules.

He must be careful to be provided with what may be deemed a more than barely sufficient number of Mules. The ablest are reserved for carriage, the others for the mills. If an animal is wounded, though ever so slightly, he should not be employed till the hair fully covers the wound; but if the sore is, for instance, upon the back, he may notwithstanding serve in the mills.

Mules, but particularly horses, must be curried every morning and freed from ticks. Now and then their mouths must be examined, and the lamprass and barbles cut off. It were to be wished that they could be bathed every noon in deep water, and especially in sea-water, when attainable, and when they are cool.

If the place to which the coffee is carried is not very distant, particularly if there is no deep passage of rivers on the road (in which case mules are more proper, as being taller, to prevent the bags of coffee being wet) Asses will do the same service as mules. They are much cheaper and more easily fed; but they require to be kept in better and stronger inclosures.

35.
Asses.

A great number of oxen and bulls are a needless incumbrance (*a*); but a good many cows are extremely useful (*b*) for the hospital, the children, and all those douceurs of milk, butter, and cheese,

36.
Cows.

(*a*) I do not pretend to reflect upon this honest useful animal. Nay, several planters have employed him for carriage; but he is slow and spoils the roads. I remember M. de L. an Attorney General at the Cape, who, being exceedingly big, tall, and heavy, rode one to go up to his estate on the mountains.

(*b*) One old cow is kept for the entertainment of new year's day. Old mules and horses are good for nothing, but a good master will not deny them a handsome retreat in his pastures.

O

which

CHAP. IV.

which are comfortable at the master's table, and also for rearing young fowls. The ticks must also be taken from the black cattle, and they require to be put under shelter in the chill or rainy nights of winter; and, at least, the *milch cows* to be supplied with grass. *Their* calves must be kept apart. Care must be taken that the milk be not smuggled by the keepers or other negroes.

In general, milking is not so well understood here as in Europe. The negroes are relied upon, and they believe it impossible for a cow to let her milk go if the calf is not by her, or that she cannot be milked after weaning. A steady determination is necessary to overcome those prejudices. I can warrant, from my own experience, that the cows give milk after the calves are no more with them, and until they breed again; only the milk grows thin in the last days, and it may be thrown away. By this means two cows will be more profitable than four or six, in the common method.

I will not enter into a detail of the diseases to which the cattle is liable (some of which originate chiefly from exposure to cold rain and dews, and also from the quality of the pastures) nor of their cure. I refer myself, for the usual ones, and for wounds and accidents, to the known receipts and simples; and, for the more complicate, to the books upon the subject, as our *Perfect Farrier* and *Rustick House*, where even a planter of the West Indies may find very useful particulars, though the work relates to European husbandry.

37.
Goats.

Goats should be kept away from plantations, and bred upon barren grounds. They leap over
and

and go through every inclosure, and make a great deal of waste. CHAP. IV.

Sheep have, in a great measure, the same inconvenience. They, as has been said, spoil the pasture grounds. Besides, they succeed but ill in rainy places.

38.
Sheep.

As Hogs and Swine must be prohibited to the negroes, the master should have none running about. He may only buy gelded hogs and fatten them in very close pens. Every month one is killed, and another put in his place. This is a great resource.

39.
Hogs and
Swine.

I cannot omit the two most domestic of all animals. The one so brisk, so alert, and playful; the other so loving, so faithful, both so useful. How can a solitary man live without a dog, and even a cat, where friends are so rare? The latter ought to be good hunters; the former watchful, but not dangerous, on account of the negroes.

40.
Dogs and
Cats.

No pains should be spared to breed a great quantity of Fowl of all kinds, as hens, guinea hens, geese, ducks, and turkeys. Young peacocks are very fine, and the bird is the pride of our yards; but it spoils the roofs.

41. Fowls,
Pigeons,
and Rab-
bits.

The cote pigeons are the best species, larger and more delicate than the others. They breed better, and, as they never fly far, they are less liable to be destroyed by the negroes. They only require to be better fed.

The domestic rabbits are also a great resource. When they are fed with orange and other aromatic leaves, they are as good as the wild ones. A

CHAP. IV. A single buck must be left in each warren, and the young must be kept without his reach.

With all those comforts, the fruits, the greens which are got from the new plantations of coffee, or from the garden and orchard, with a negroe for hunting and fishing, who may be formed (but who must be watched) where game and fish are within reach, a planter may, with very little expence, find a very comfortable living.

42. Conclusion.

Thus I have run over my task, without being able to flatter myself that I have fulfilled it in a satisfactory manner. I have, however, endeavoured to be throughout perspicuous and concise, and to omit no essential point. If I have not had success, I beg indulgence. I am sorry I have not been able to do better. I do not pretend that planters, who have experience, may here find any improvement; nay, if I am found to have only explained what they know as well as myself, I will begin to set some value upon a work merely designed for such as, having little or no idea of the culture, are obliged from necessity to carry it on.

I have affected to speak very little of the overseer or attorney, always confounding them with the owner; because I wished to hint that, while they are entitled to the same respect and authority, if they have not the same zeal, the same concern, the same watchfulness, the same justice and humanity, they are quite unworthy of a trust and of an employment so honourable. Some are found who are, in all respects, deserving both; but many others are defective, and this will by no means be thought surprising, if all the details which I have entered into

into are considered; if all the duties incumbent upon them, and the necessity of dedicating themselves entirely to their occupations, are felt.

But again, why should the owner refuse to take upon himself the care of his own and of his family's fortune? The occupations I have described are by no means unpleasant, and if they are manifold, they agree the better with a life of quiet, uniformity, and retirement. Add to these, some intercourse with a few honest neighbours and friends, books, maps, compasses, pencils, pen and ink, the whole time is comfortably filled up. Perhaps a wife shares and encreases your enjoyments; perhaps children grow round you. What then is wanting for your blifs?

A good citizen owes to his country the best use of that portion of land, which Providence has assigned to him, in the territory of the state. Is that a trust and responsibility to be thrown away into mercenary hands?

To enjoy, under a burning zone, a cool healthy climate, to have all the true comforts of life; to see all around convenient buildings in good order; a well-settled manufacture and household; plantations that answer your advances, and abundantly repay your toils; happy servants; cattle in good plight; and to be able to say to yourself, in the calm and recollection of self-applauding conscience: "I have created all this. Nature, heaven and earth, my country, and my fellow citizens, smile at my labour and success. If I am remote from the pleasures of a boisterous vain world, I am secure also from its intrigues and corruption. My days
O 3
" glide

CHAP. IV. “ glide along without trouble, my nights are free
 “ from the dreams of ambition and the pangs of
 “ remorse; nothing breaks my slumbers but the
 “ tender cares due to suffering humanity; the wishes
 “ of those around me are for the duration of my
 “ existence, and when that shall be peaceably ter-
 “ minated, my servants will sprinkle my grave with
 “ tears; my children or heirs will bless for ever the
 “ good man, to whose toils they find themselves
 “ indebted for their comforts and bliss.”

I ask any reasonable man, if happiness does not
 exist in such a situation, is there any under heaven
 where it can be found?

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint
 Agricolas.

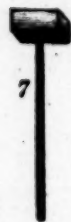
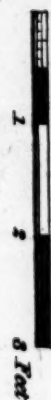
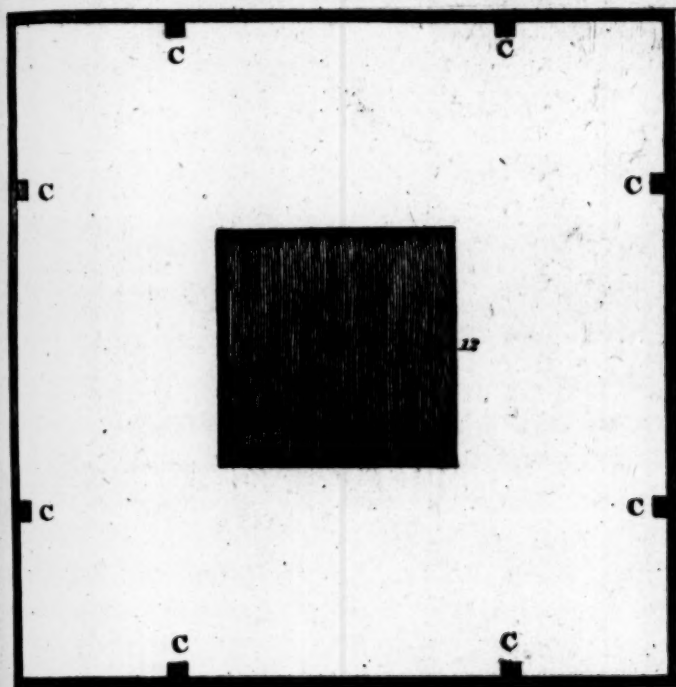
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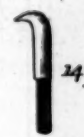
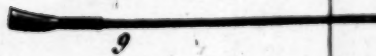
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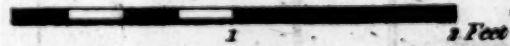
Tools and utensils of Culture and Manufacture.



2



for Pruning



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Fig. 4. Pag 38.



Fig. 3. Page 38.



Fig. 1. Page 11.

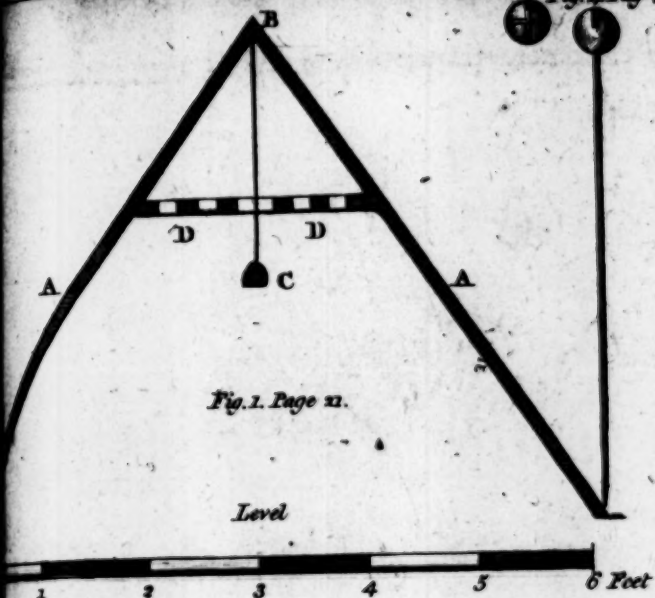


Fig. 2. Page 11.

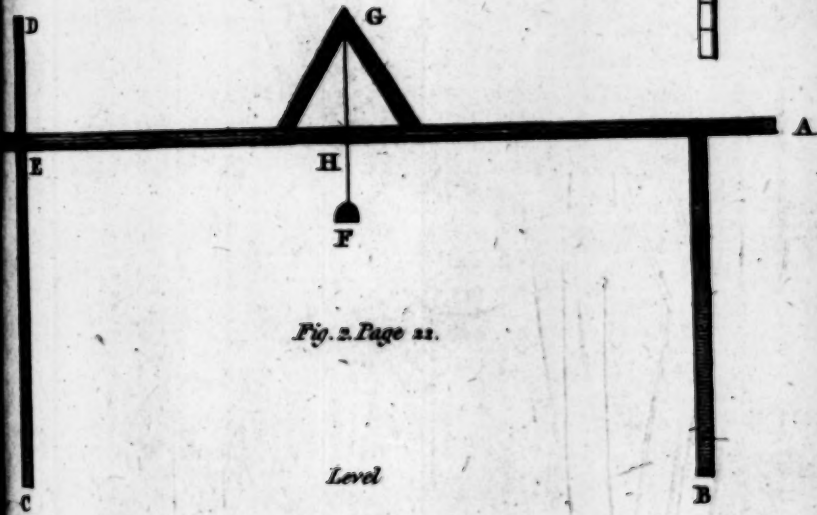
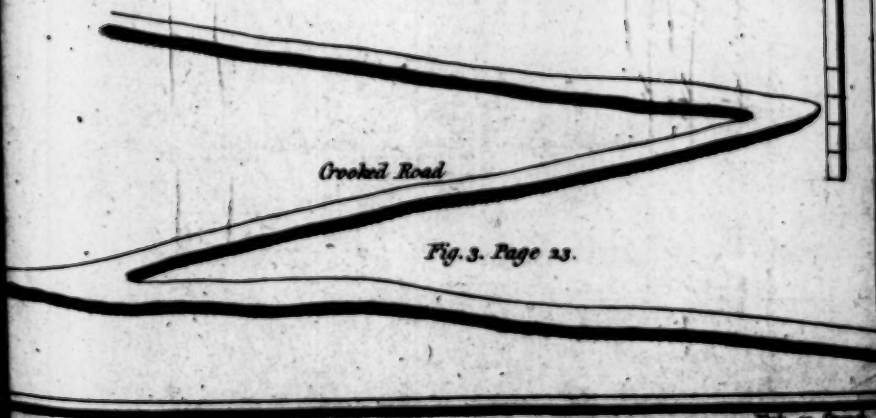
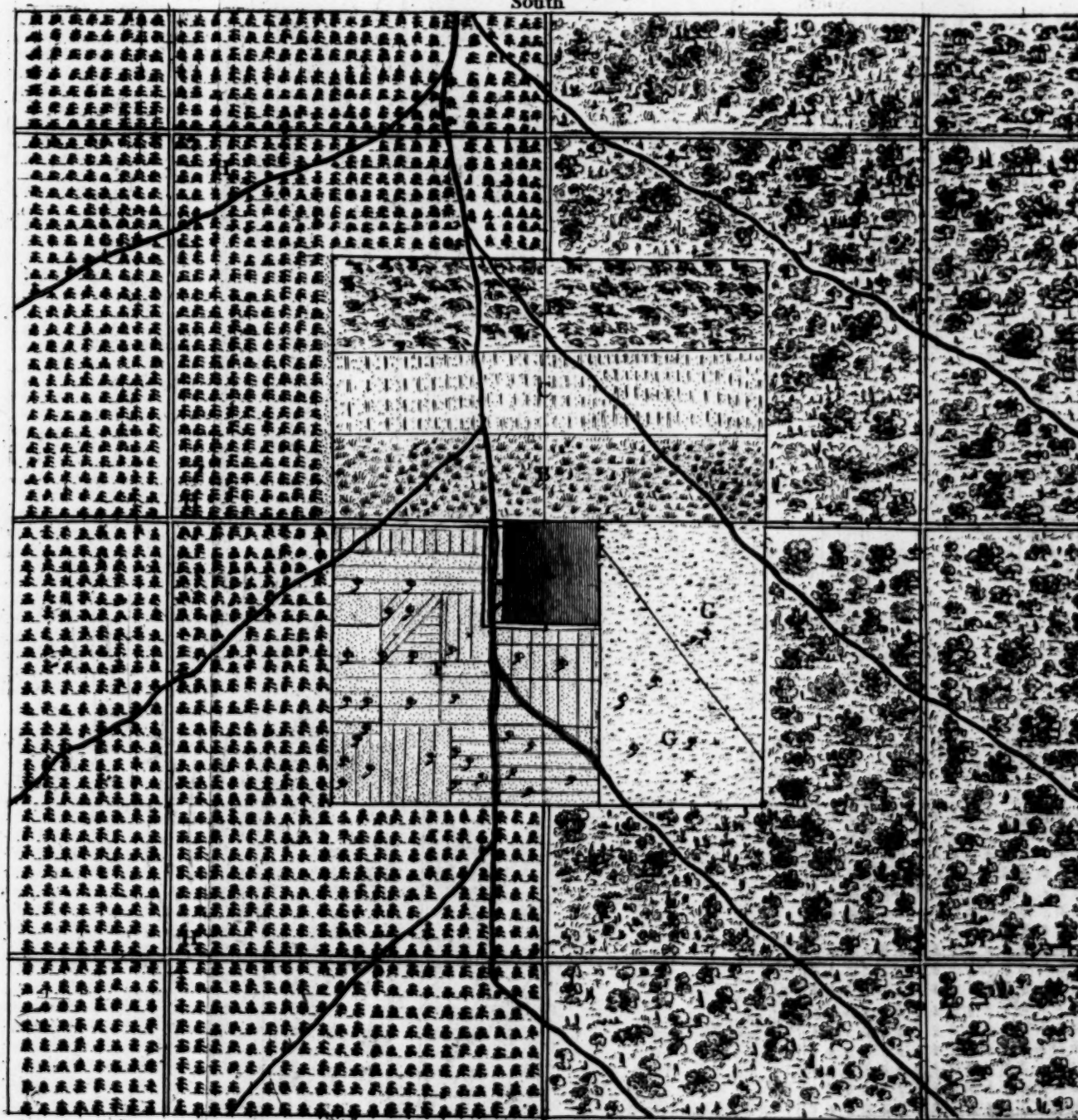


Fig. 3. Page 13.



*An Estate belonging to Mr. A. in the parish of H. in St. Domingo
of two hundred & twenty five squares.*

South



Explanation

- A. Houses & Settlements
- B. Forage Grounds
- C. Provision D^o
- D. Plantains and Roots D^o
- F. Negroe Grounds
- G. Savanas
- H. Coffee Plantations
- I. } Standing Wood or
Wood Land

North

Paces

200

400

600

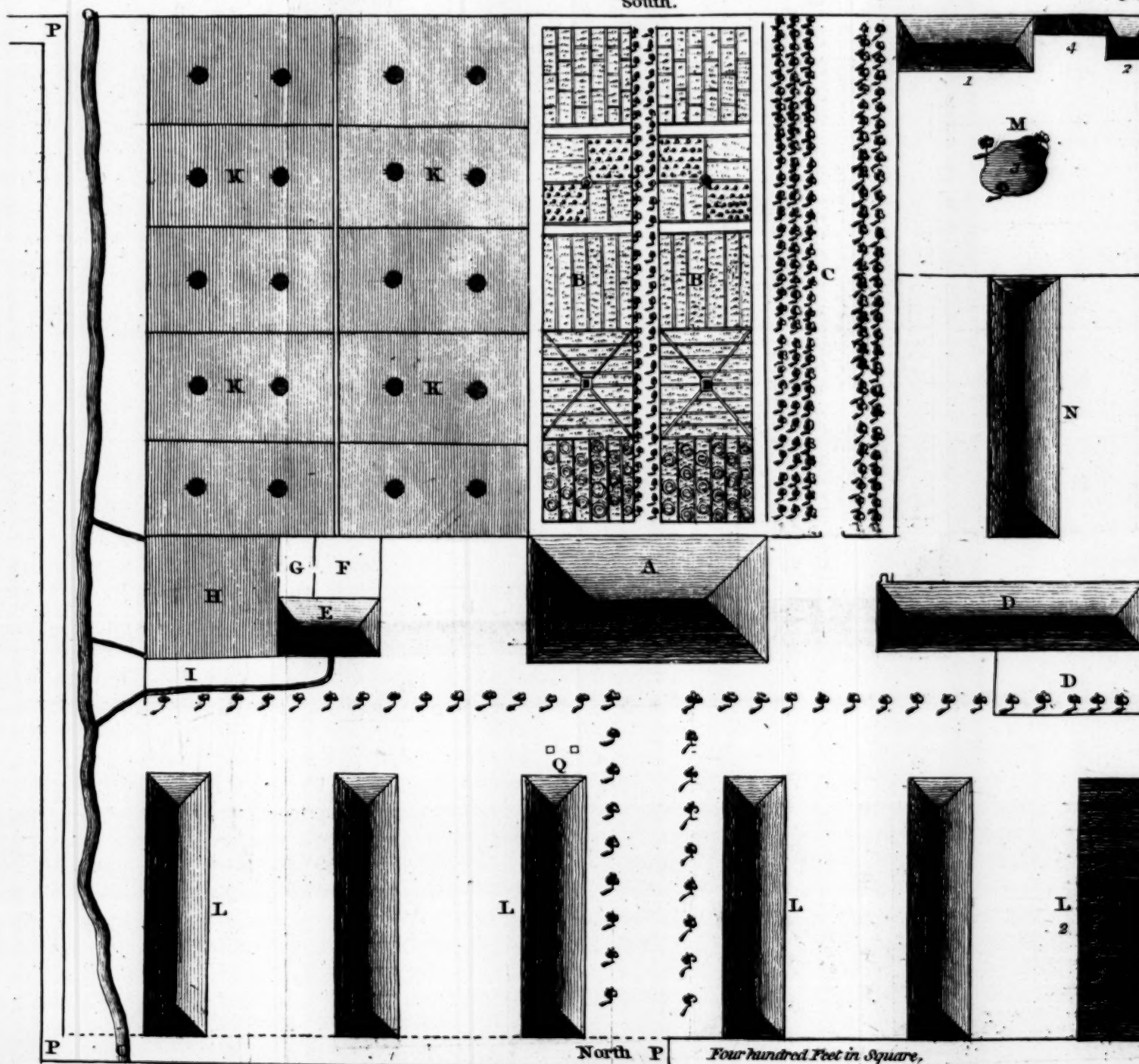
750

Settlements of M. A's Estate in S. Domingo.

Fig 4

Explanation.

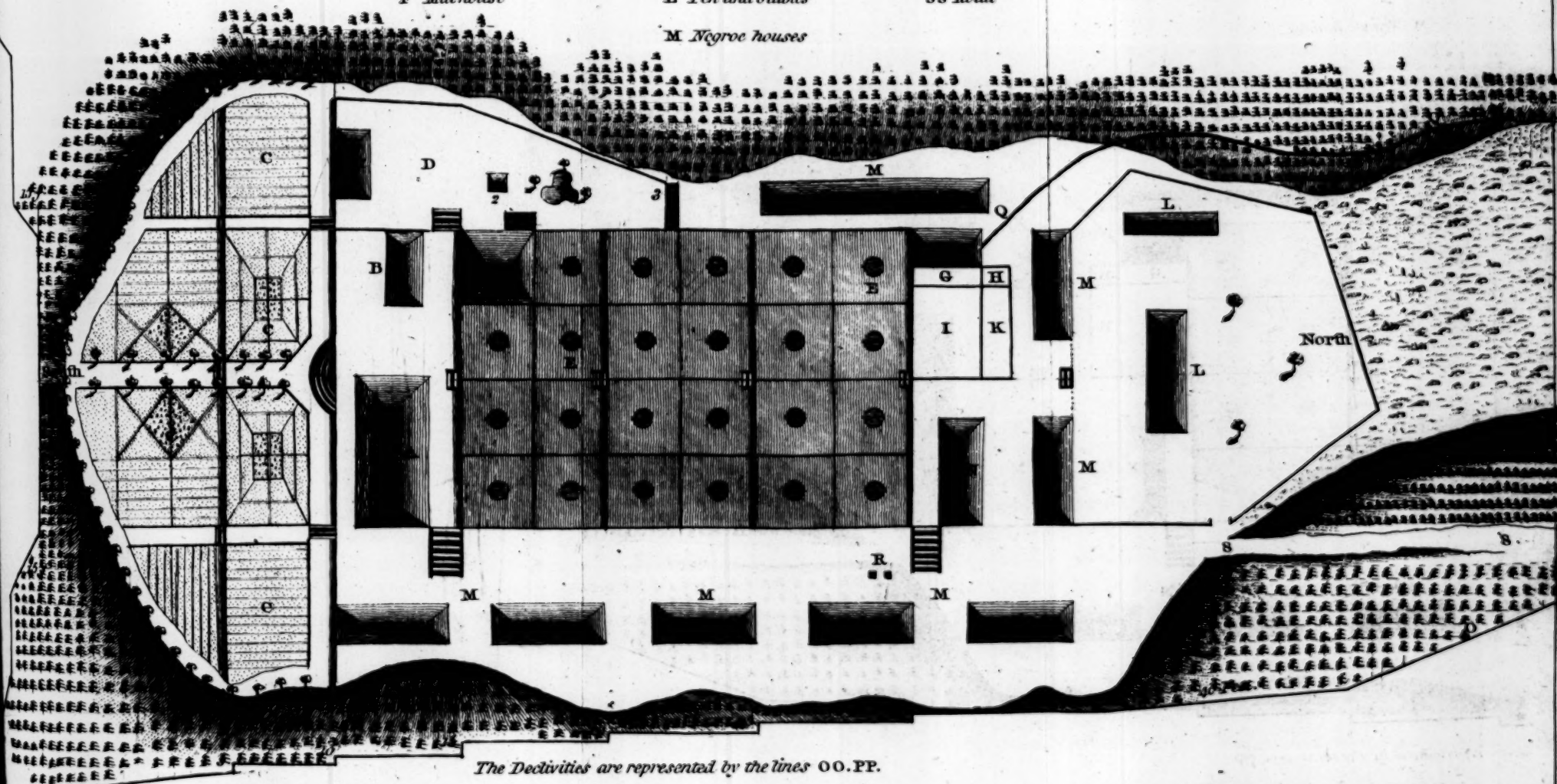
- A Dwelling House & Coffee Store
- B Garden.
- C Orchard.
- D Kitchen, out Houses, Hospital & Hosp. yard.
- E Mill House.
- F Basin to wash the Coffee.
- G D. for Scum Coffee.
- H Platform for D.
- I Canal or Pipe.
- K Drying Platforms.
- L Negro Houses.
- M Poultry yard, 1 P. house, 2 Pigeon house and Warren, 3 Swamp, 4 Pens for Hogs.
- N Stables and Pen.
- OO River.
- PP Road.
- Q Bell.



Mr. B.'s Settlements upon a declivous out stretched summit of a Hill.

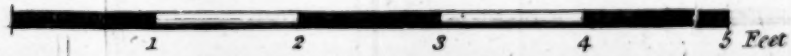
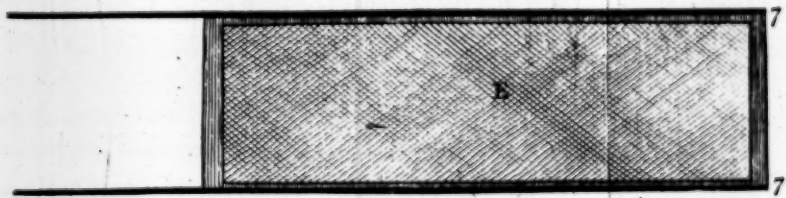
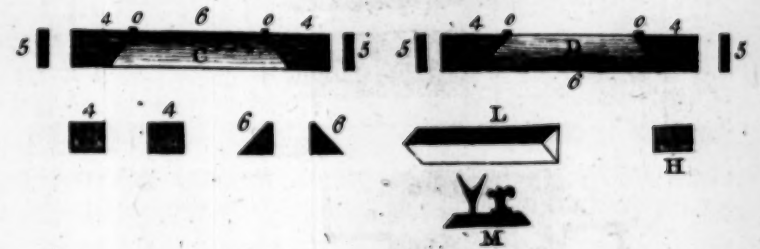
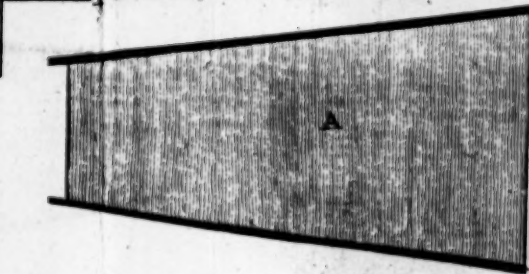
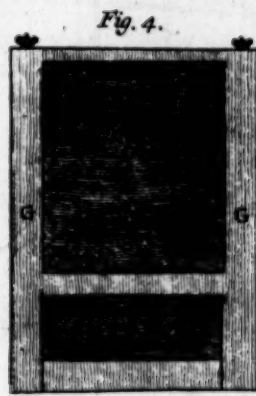
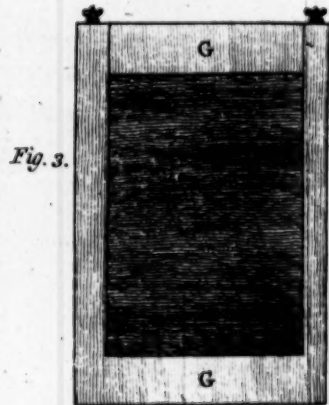
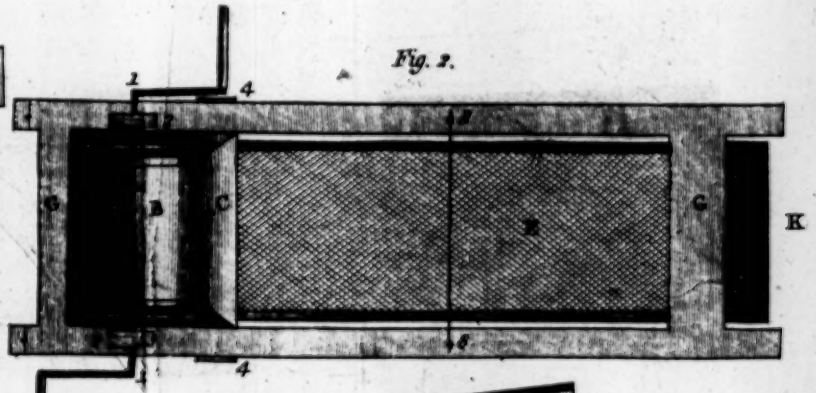
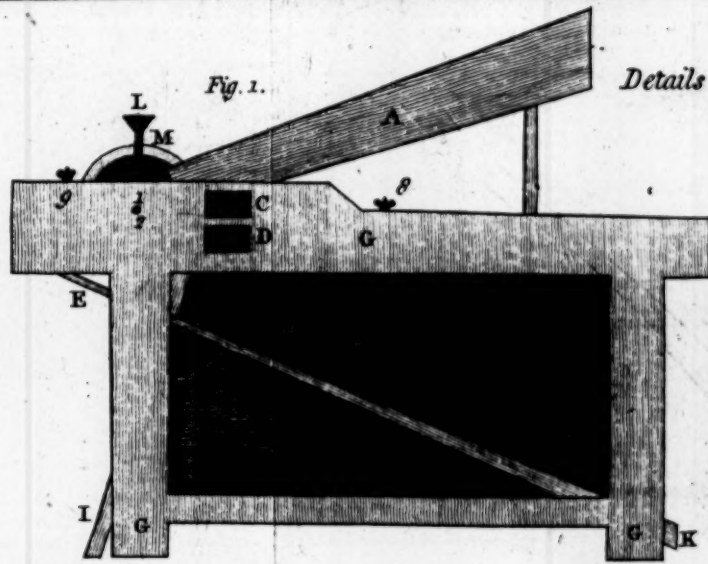
EXPLANATION.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| A Dwelling House & Coffee Store | f Grinding Mill + Fan house | N Hospital |
| B Kitchen & out Houses | G Bason for the Coffee | OO Declivity from North Southwards |
| C Garden | H D ^o for Scum Coffee | PP D ^o from above both sides |
| D Poultry yard &c. | I Draining Platform | QQ Canal |
| E Drying Platforms | K D ^o for Scum Coffee | R Bell |
| F Mill house | L Pen and Stables | SS Road |
| | M Negroe houses | |

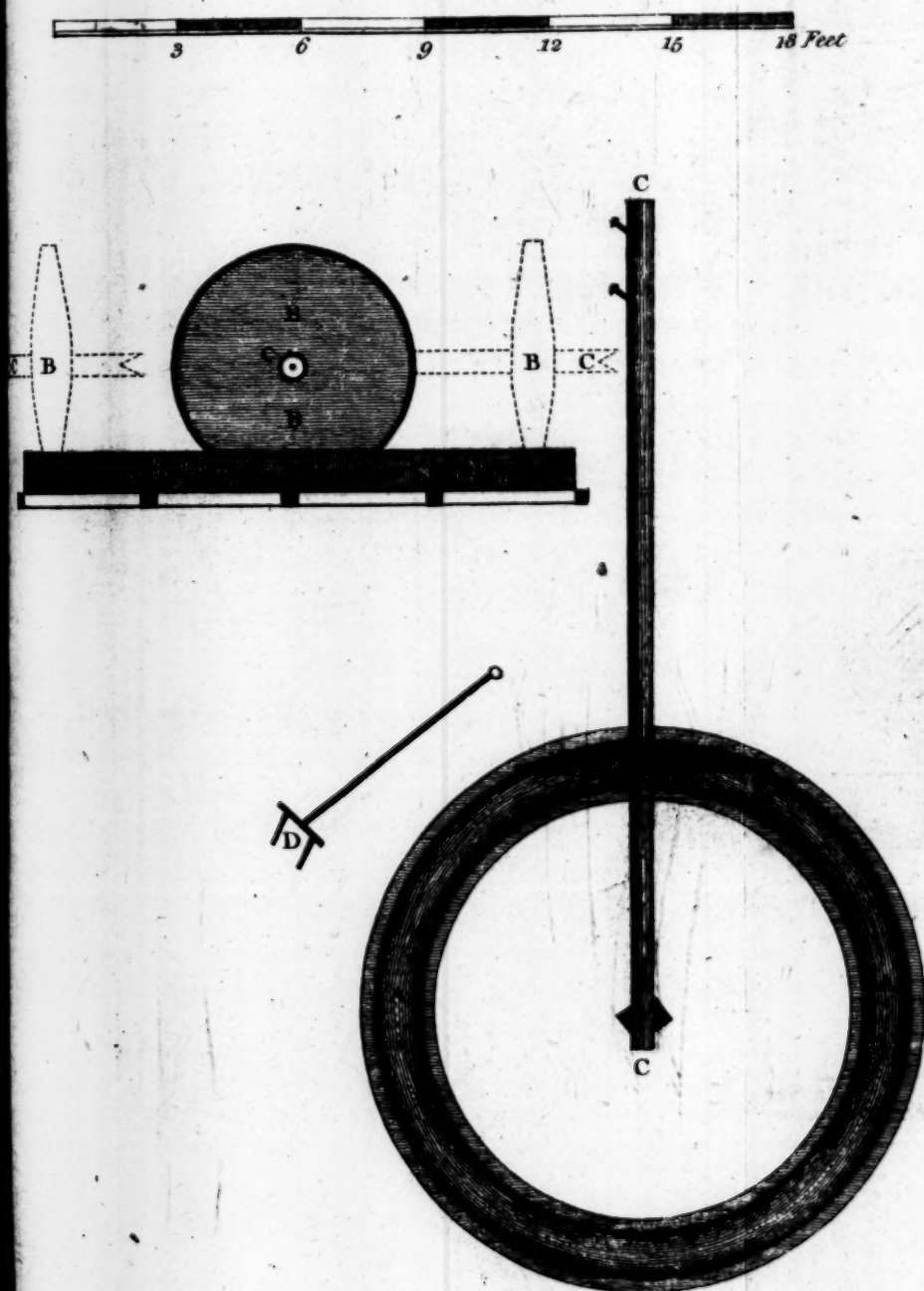


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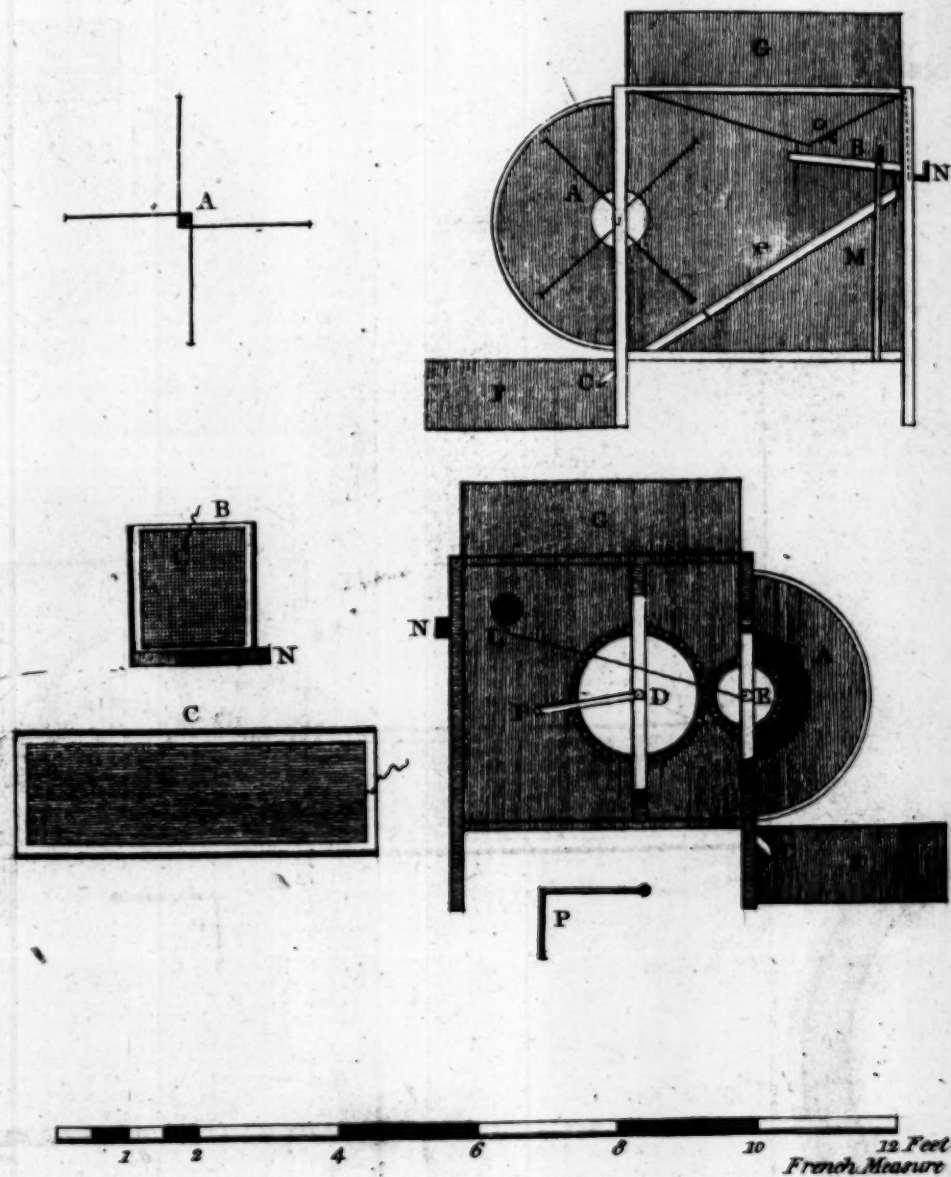
Details of the hand-grater-mill



Peeling Mill.



Winnowing Mill.



Lime Kilns

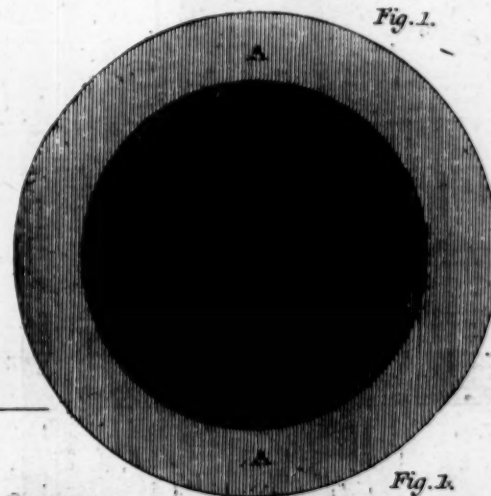
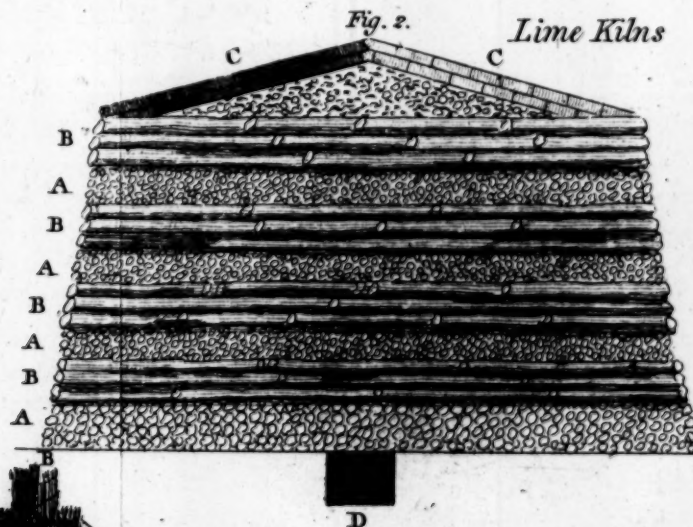
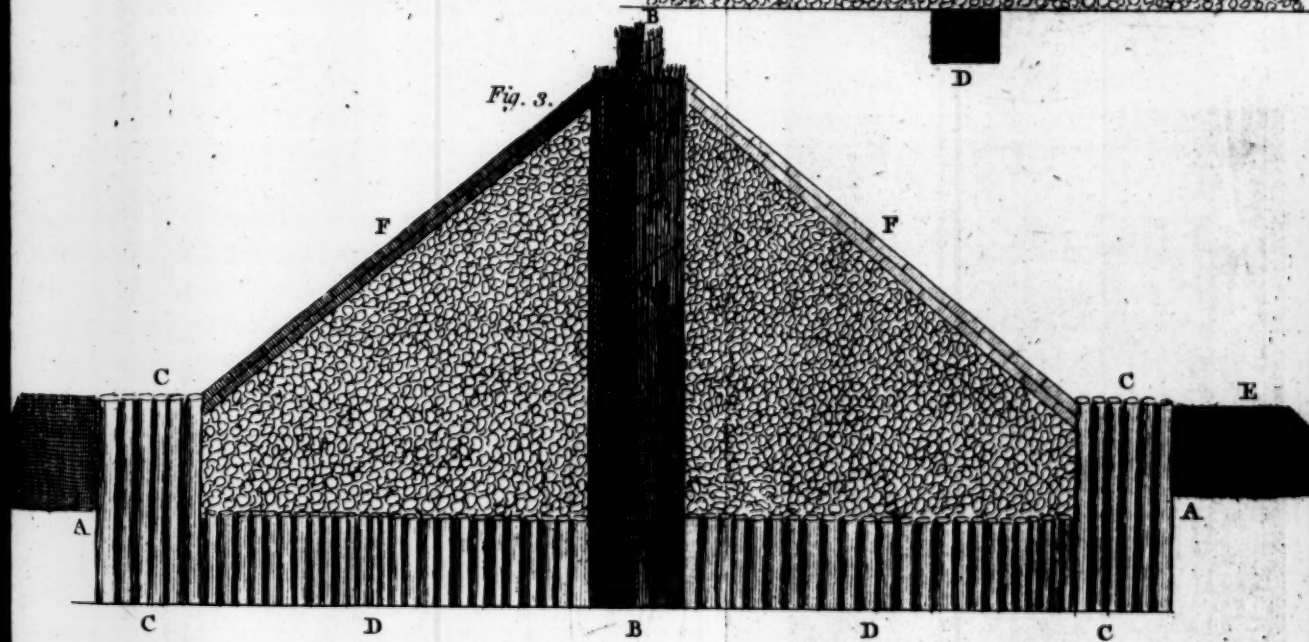
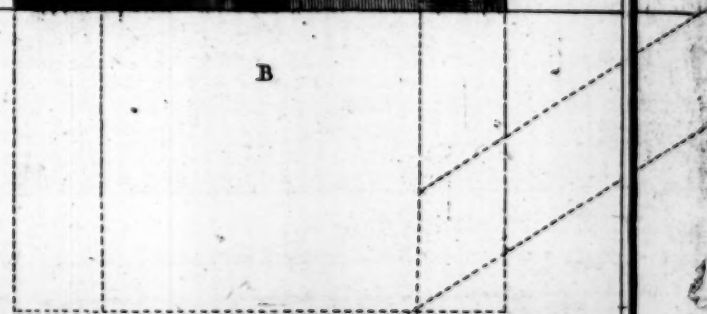
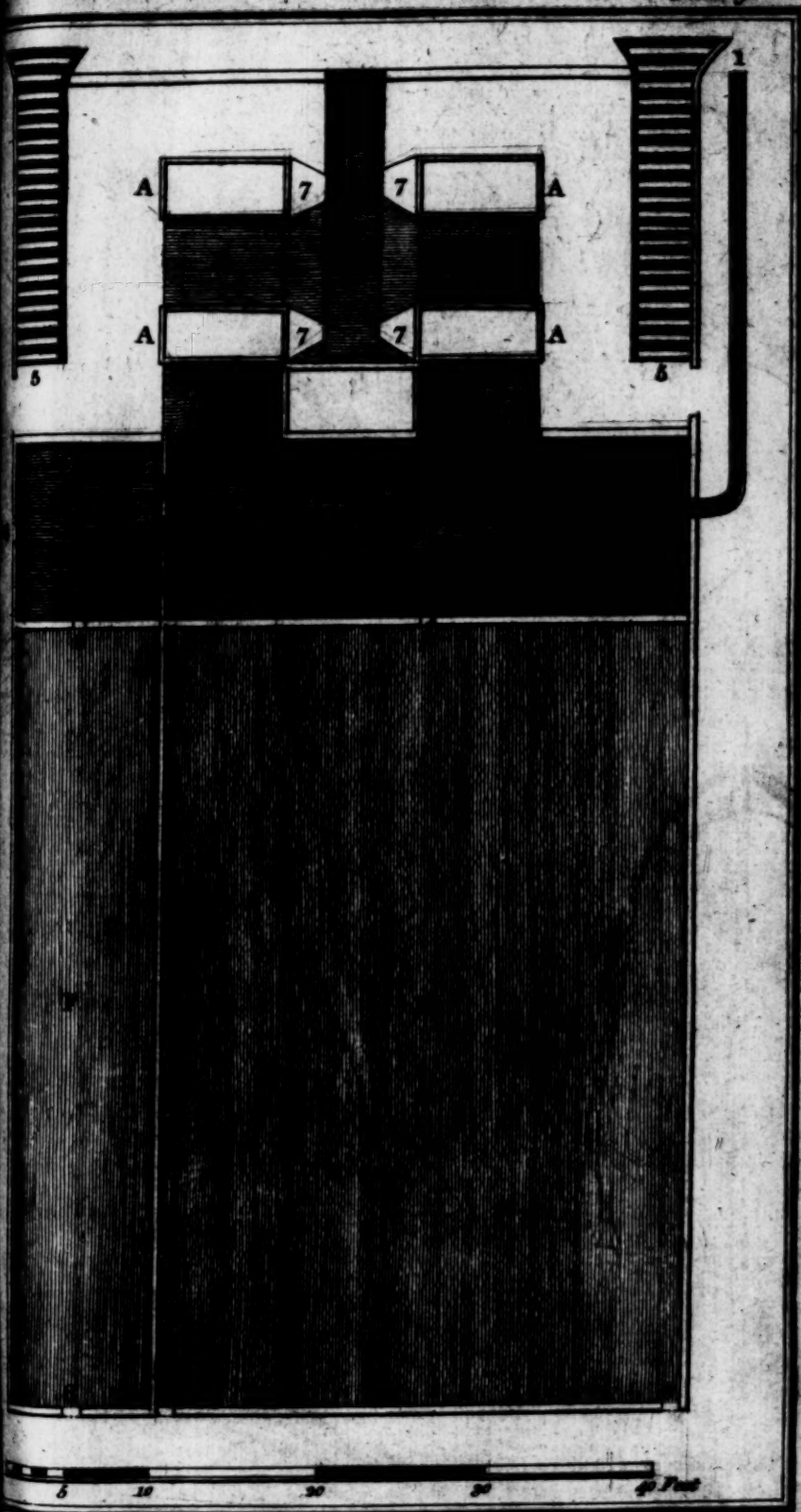


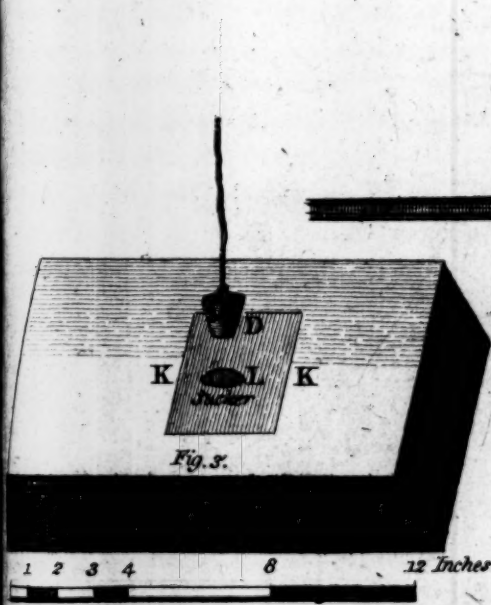
Fig. 3.



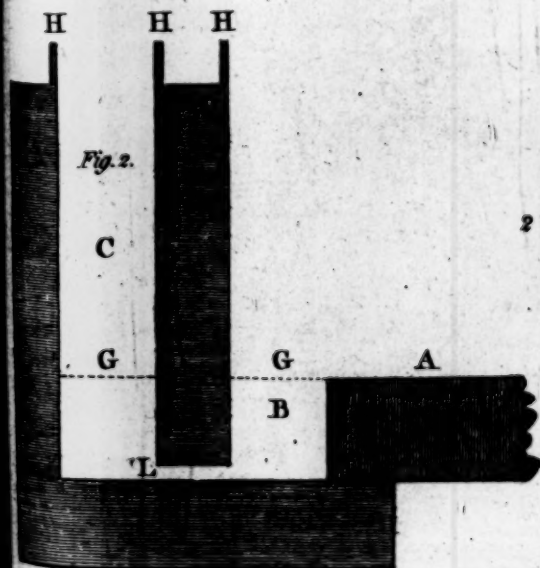
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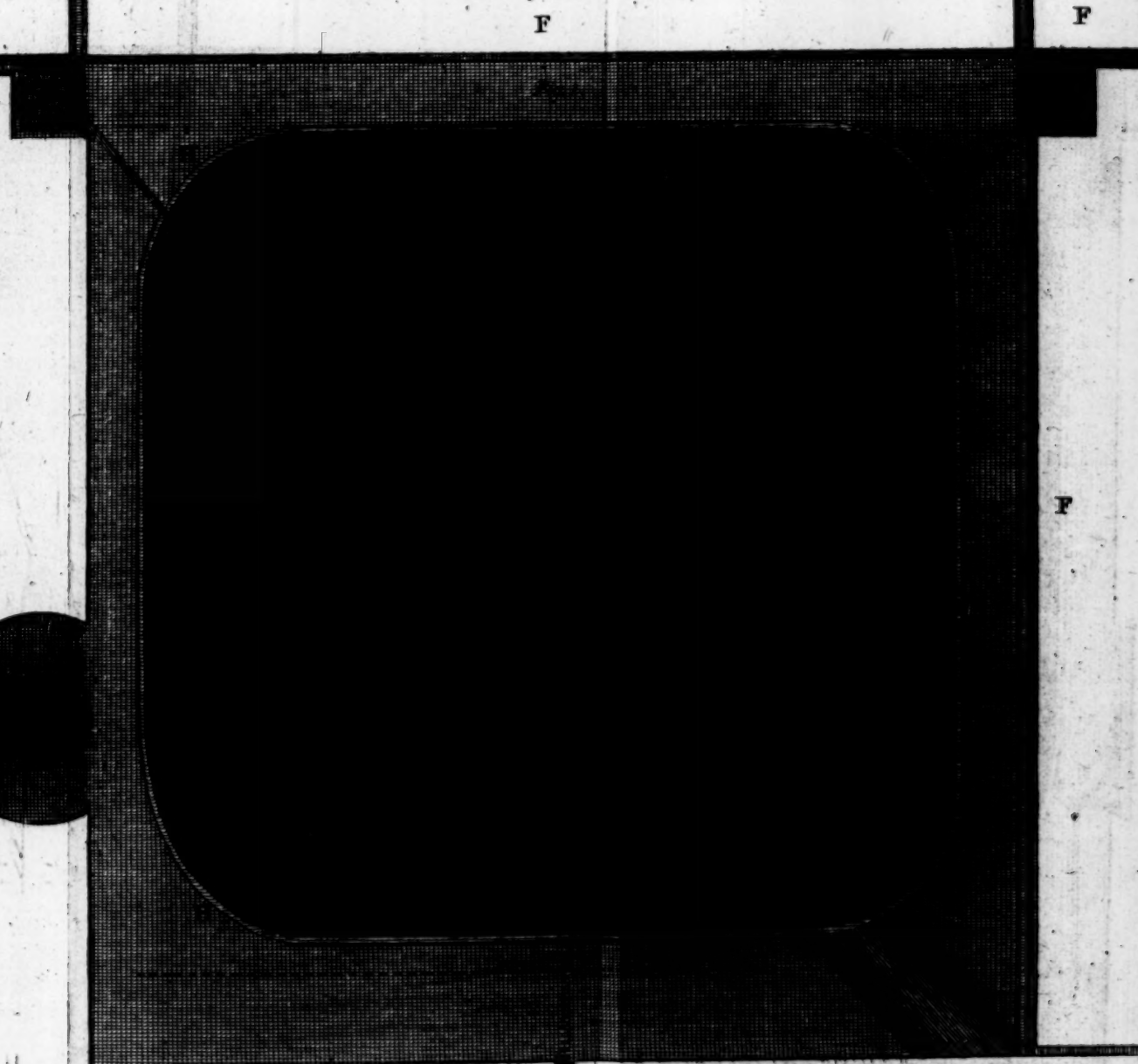


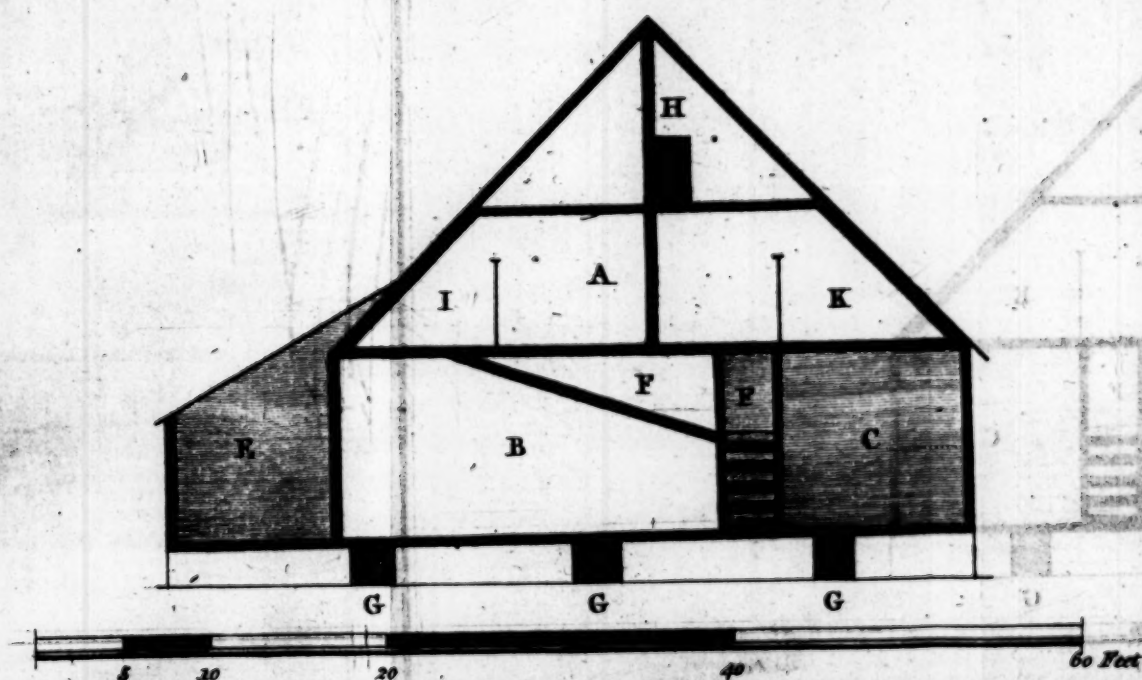
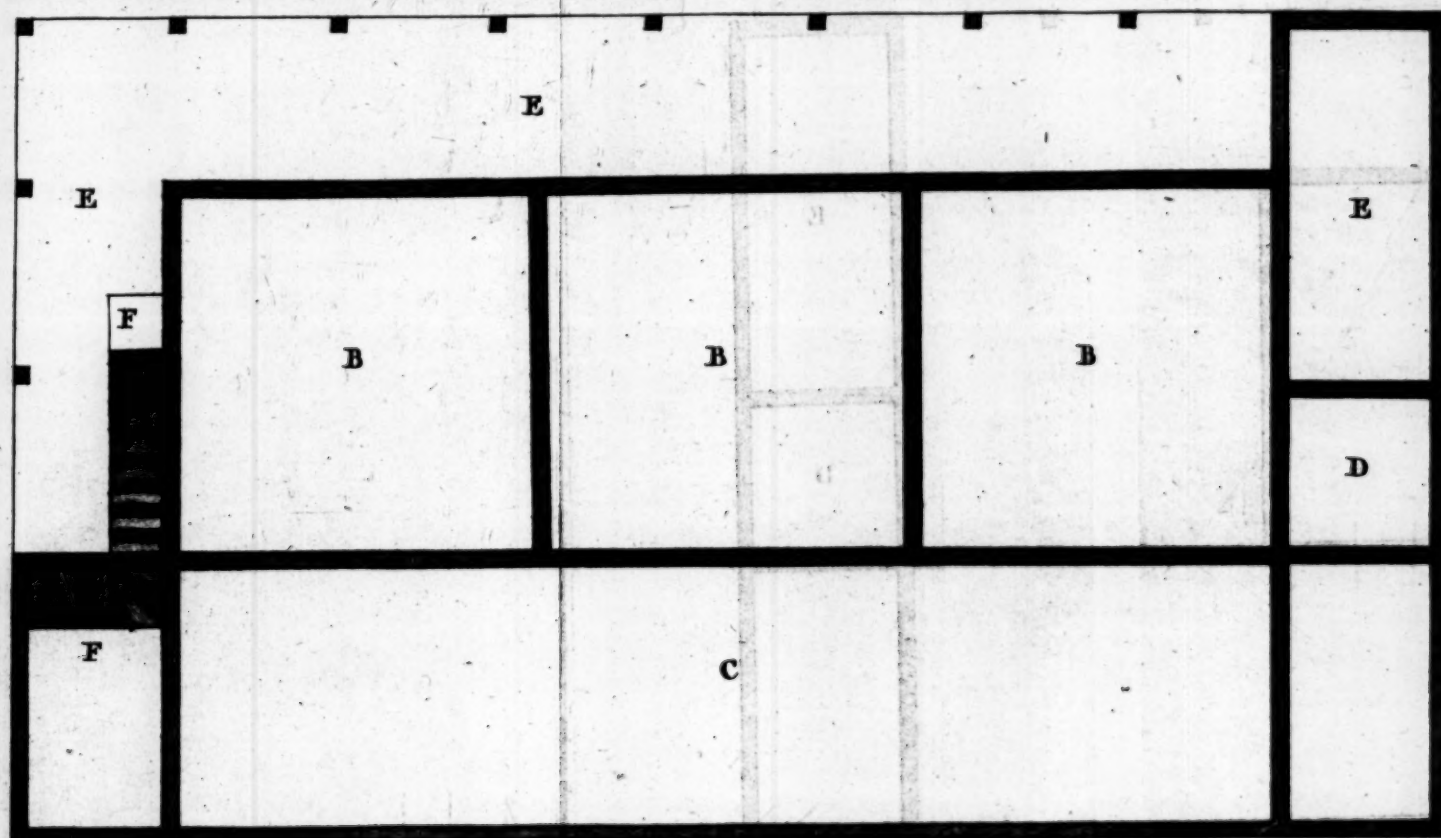


Elevation Line 2.3.

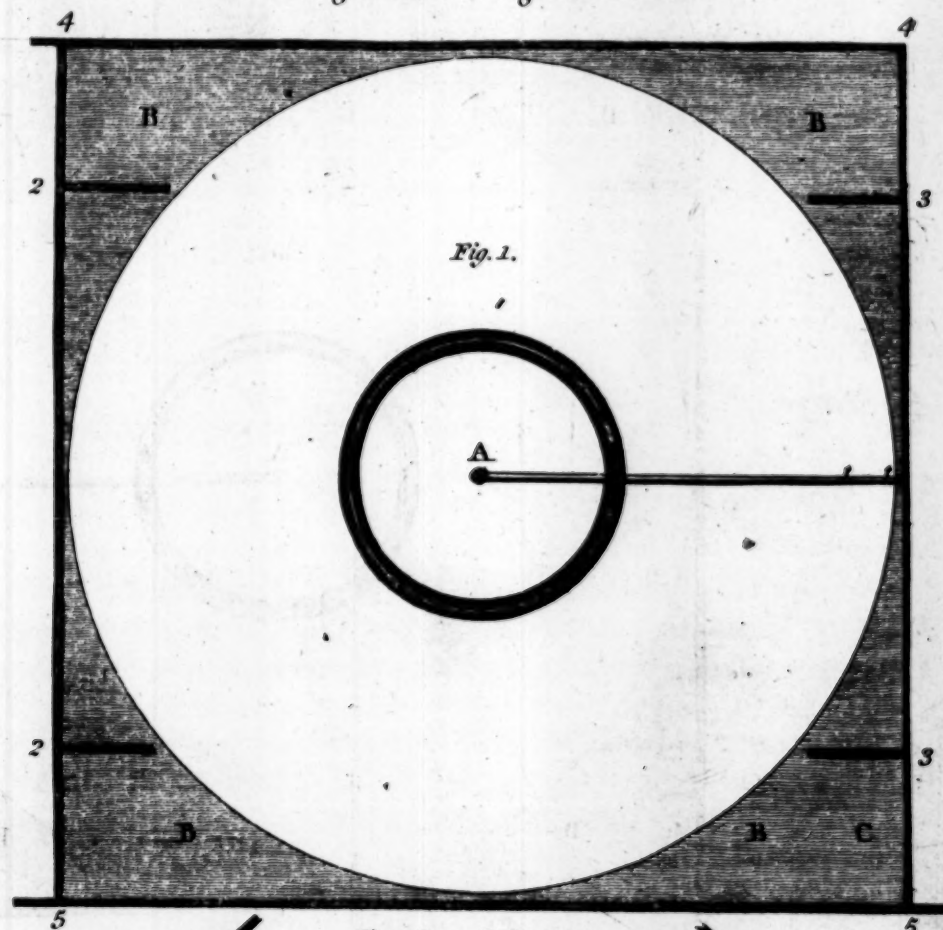


Cistern of Filtration





Peeling & Winnowing Mill-house.



Elevation of the Lines. 2. 3.

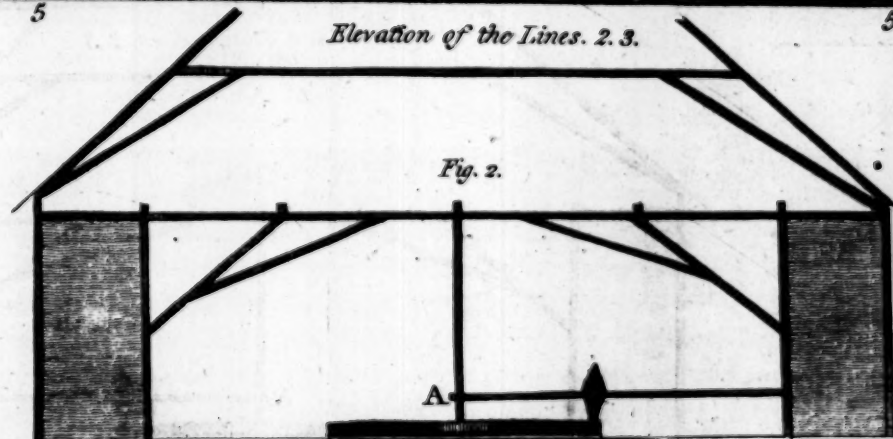


Fig. 2.

3 6 12 18 24 30 36 Feet

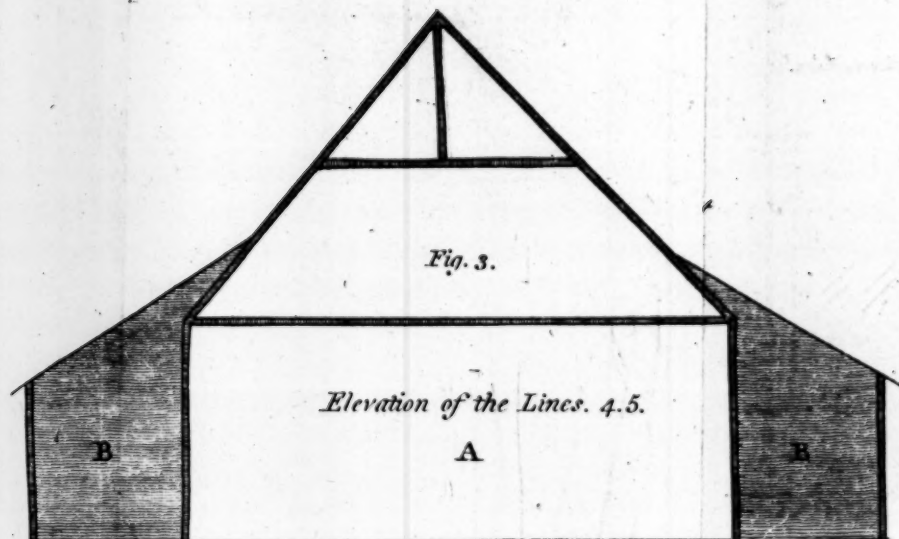
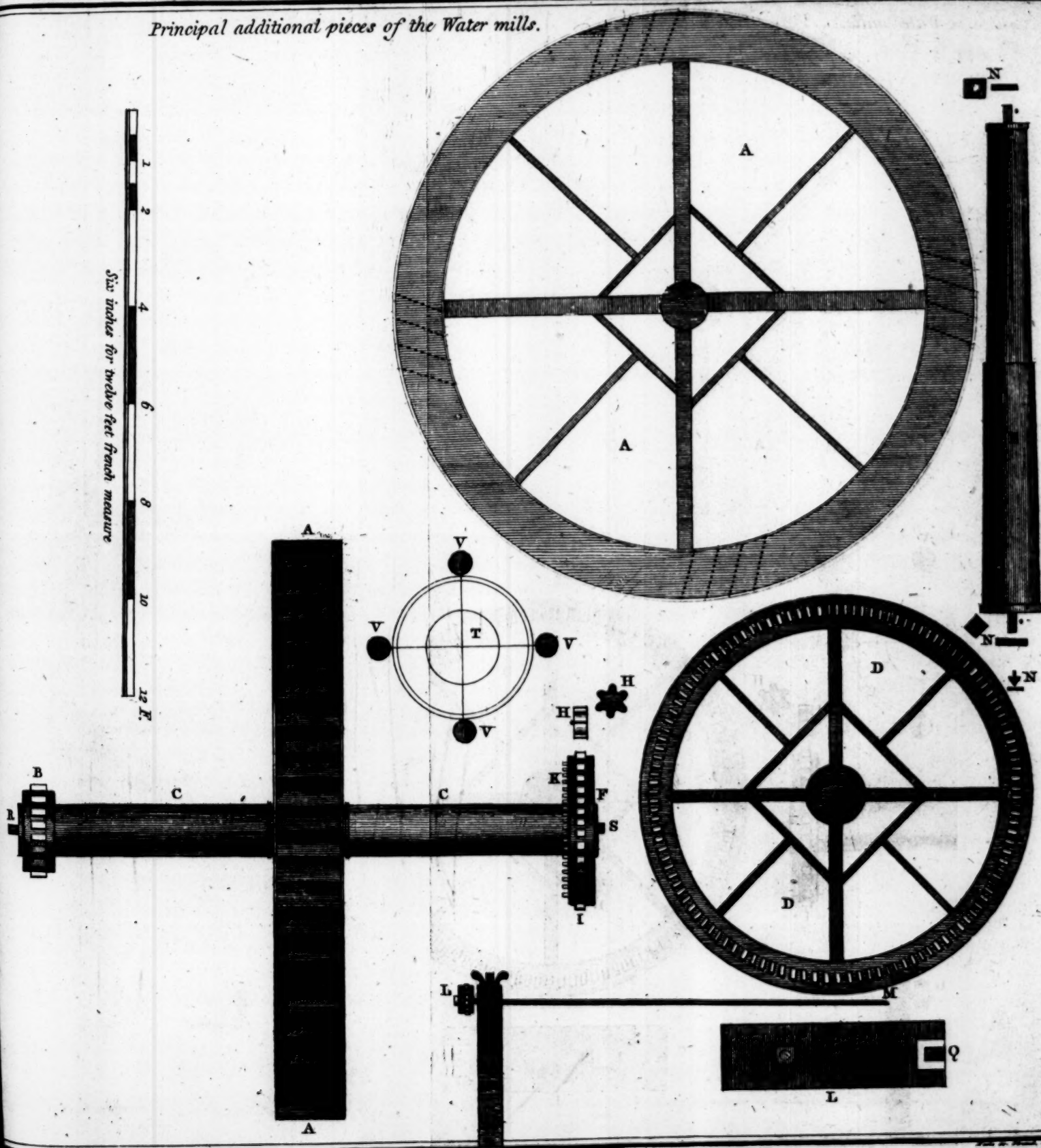


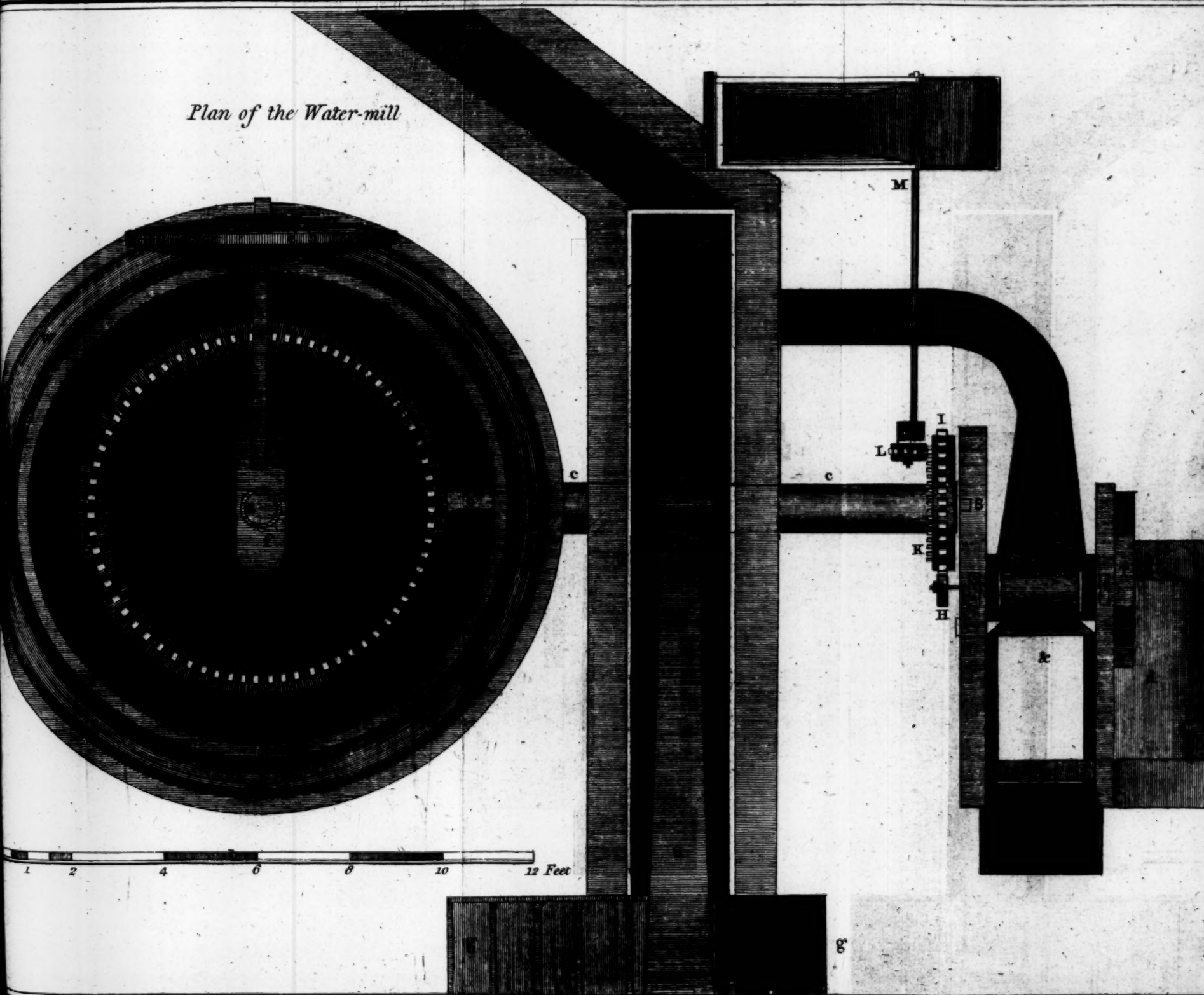
Fig. 3.

Elevation of the Lines. 4. 5.

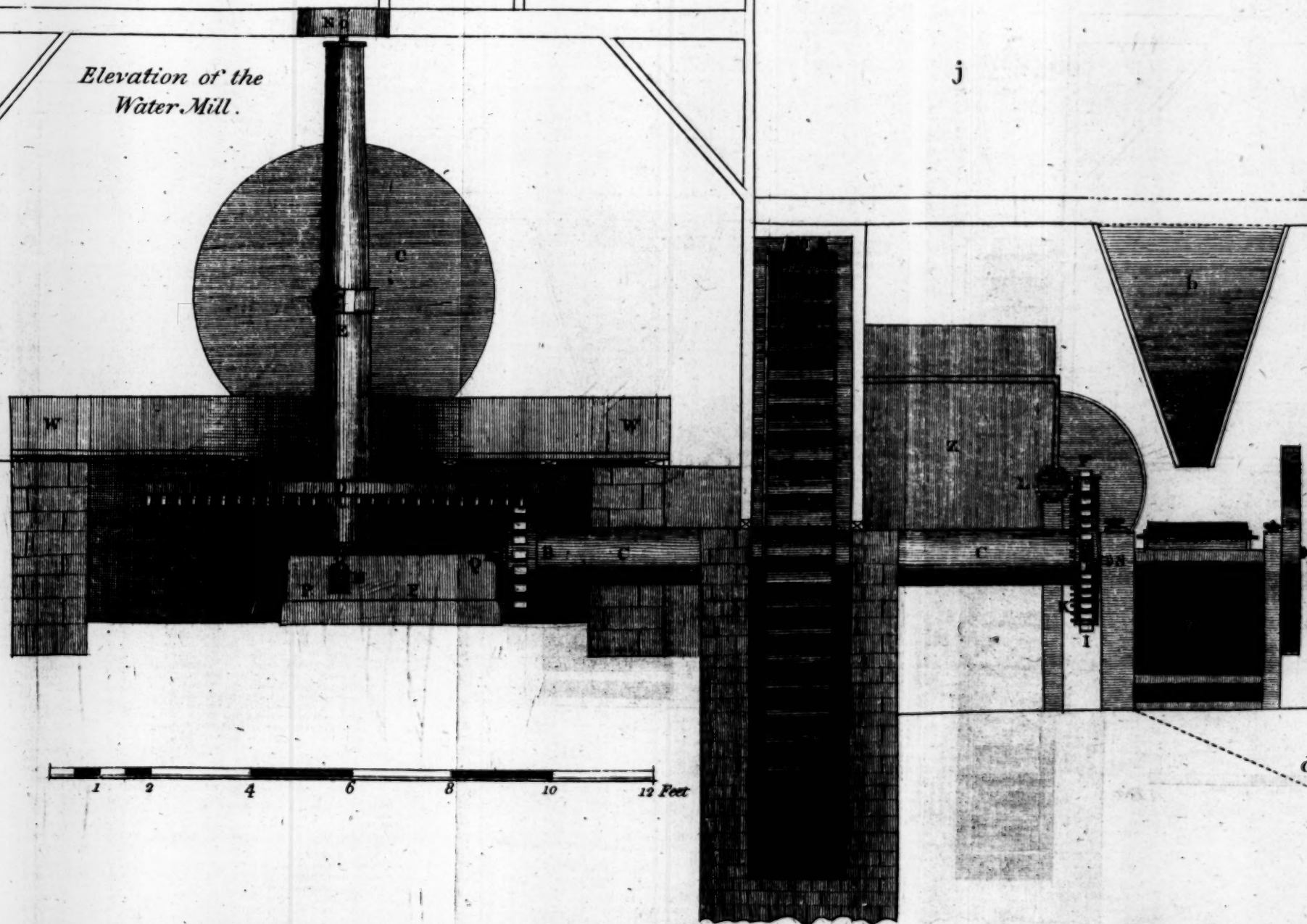
Principal additional pieces of the Water mills.



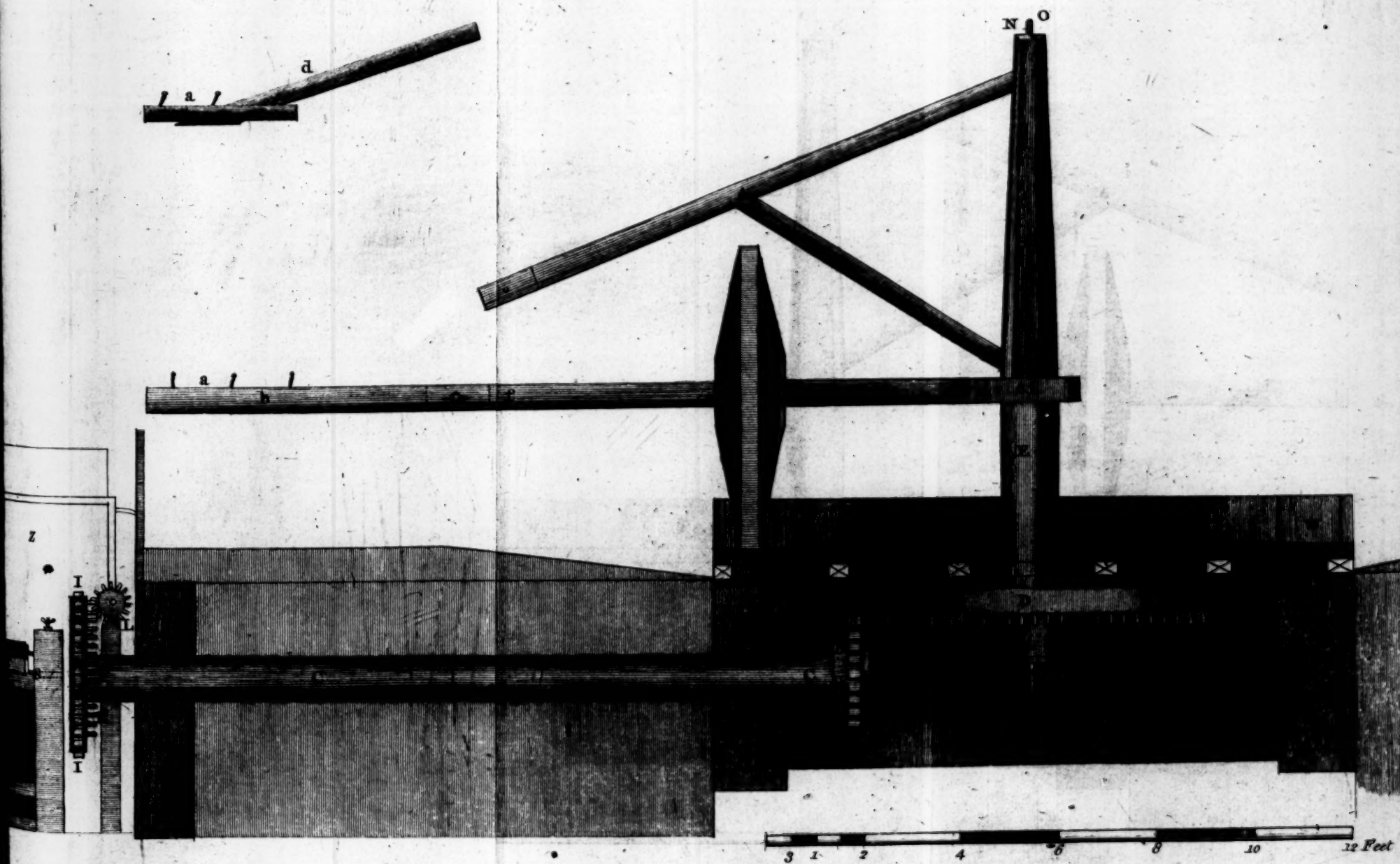
Plan of the Water-mill



*Elevation of the
Water Mill.*



Cattle Mill



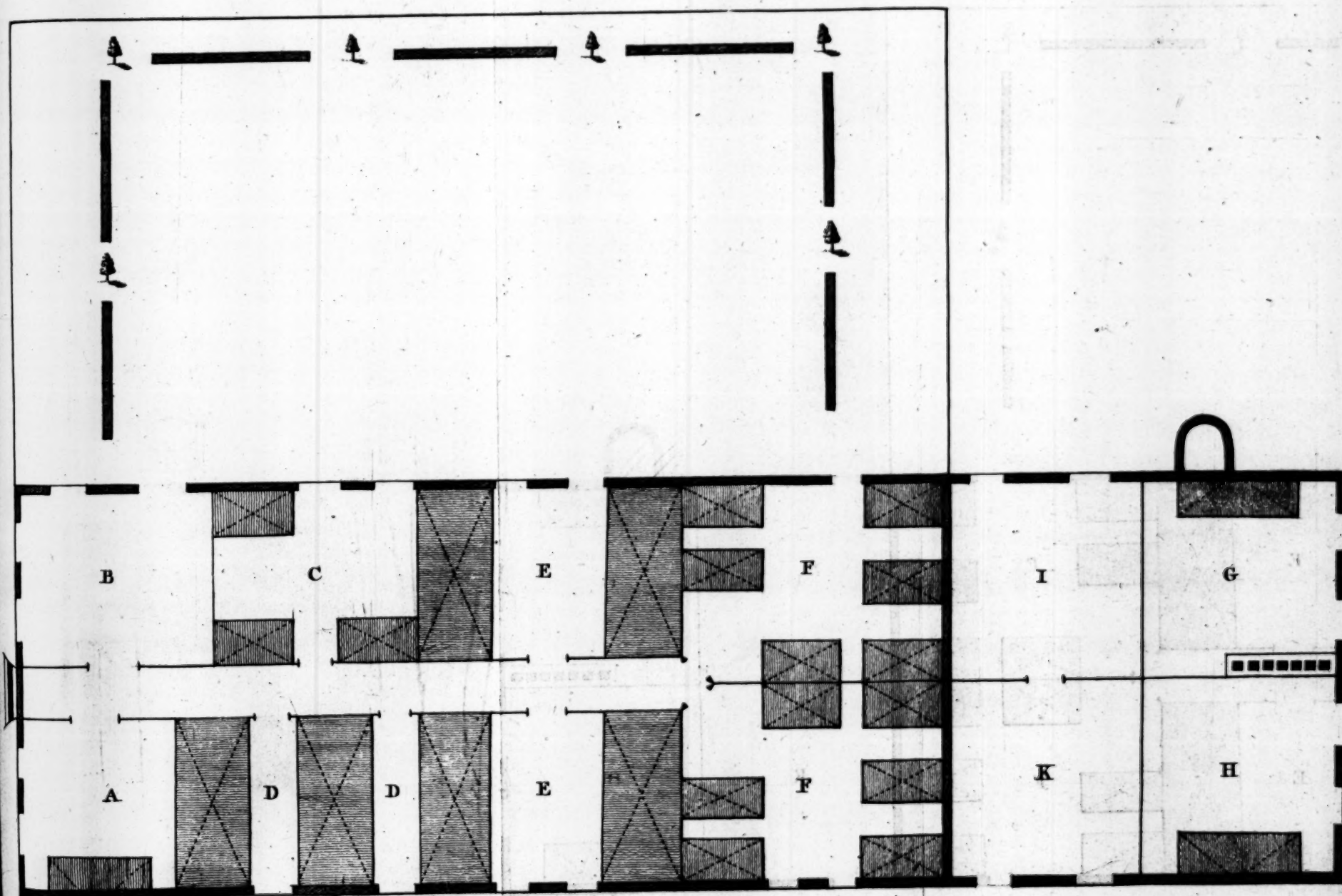
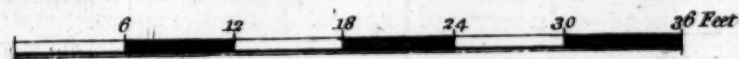


Fig 1

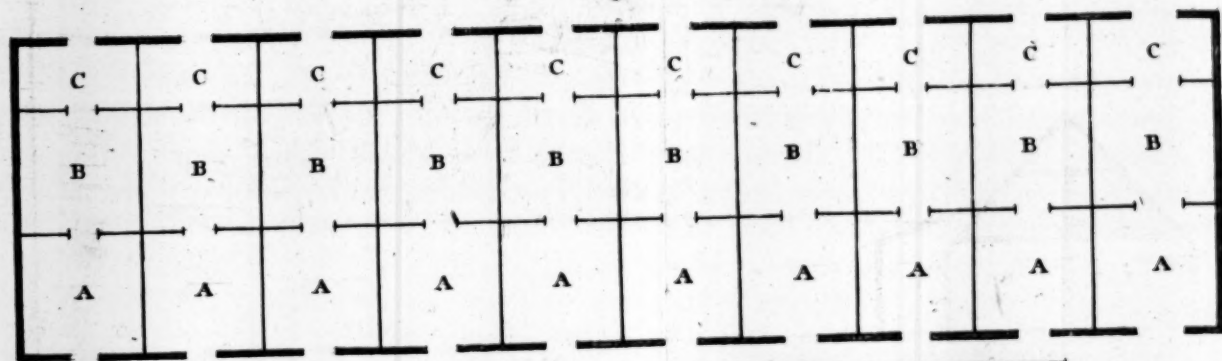
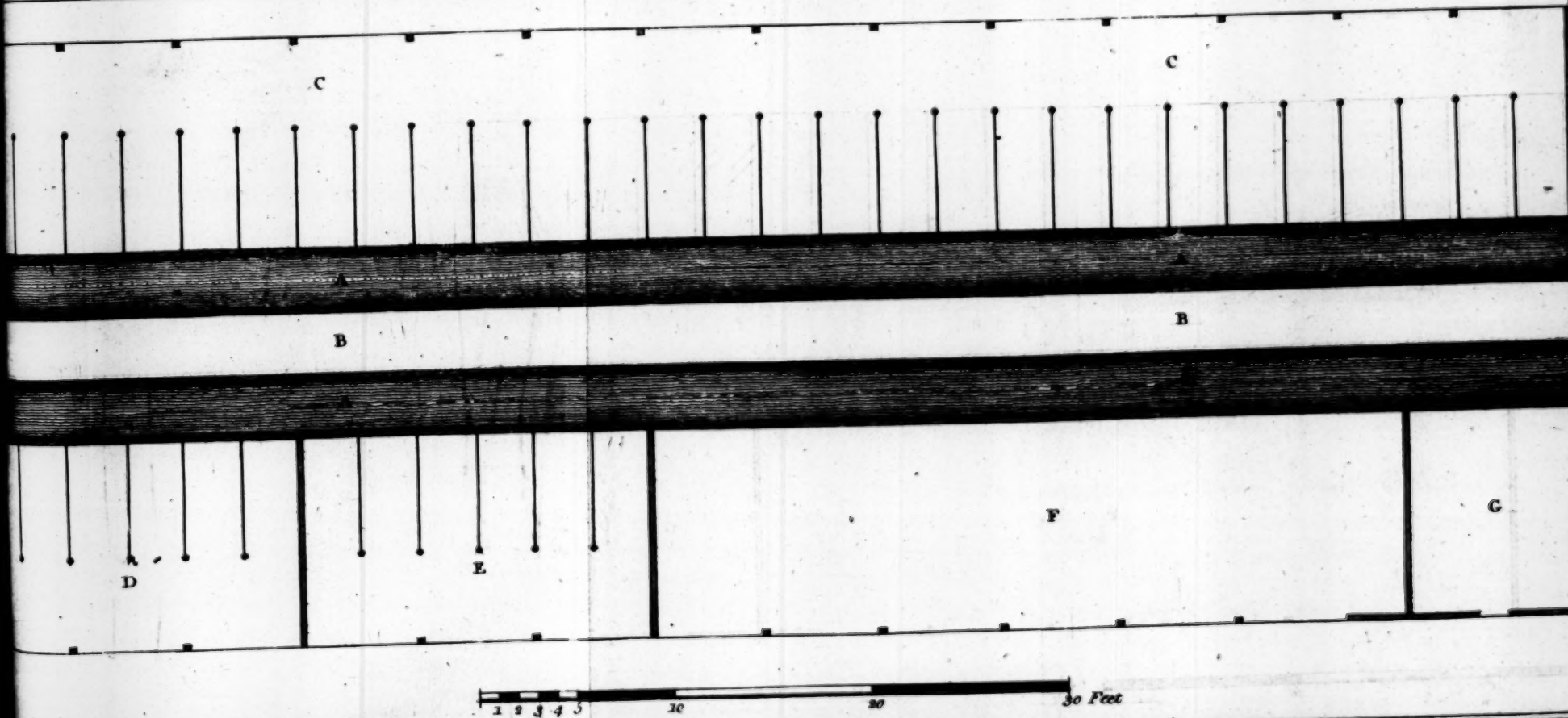
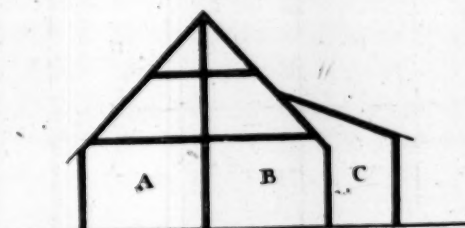
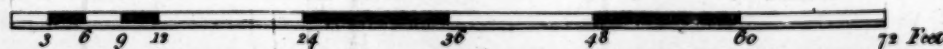
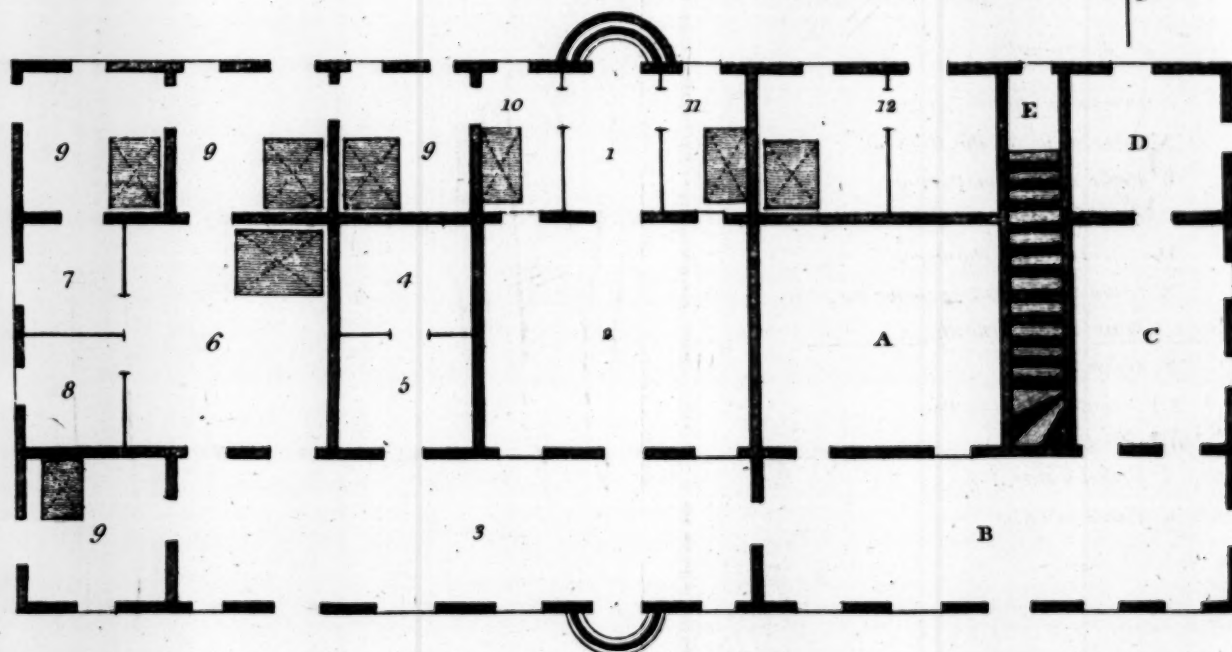
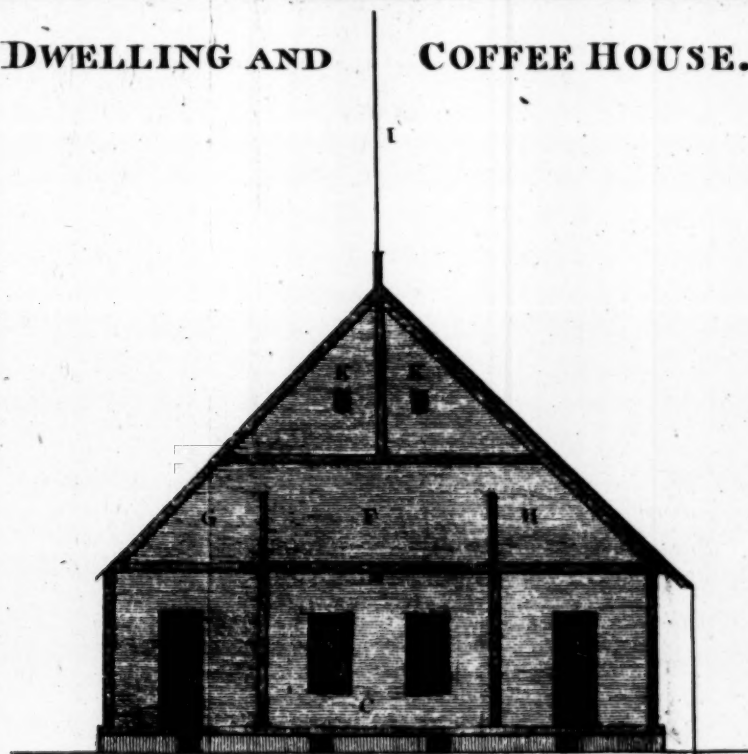


Fig 2



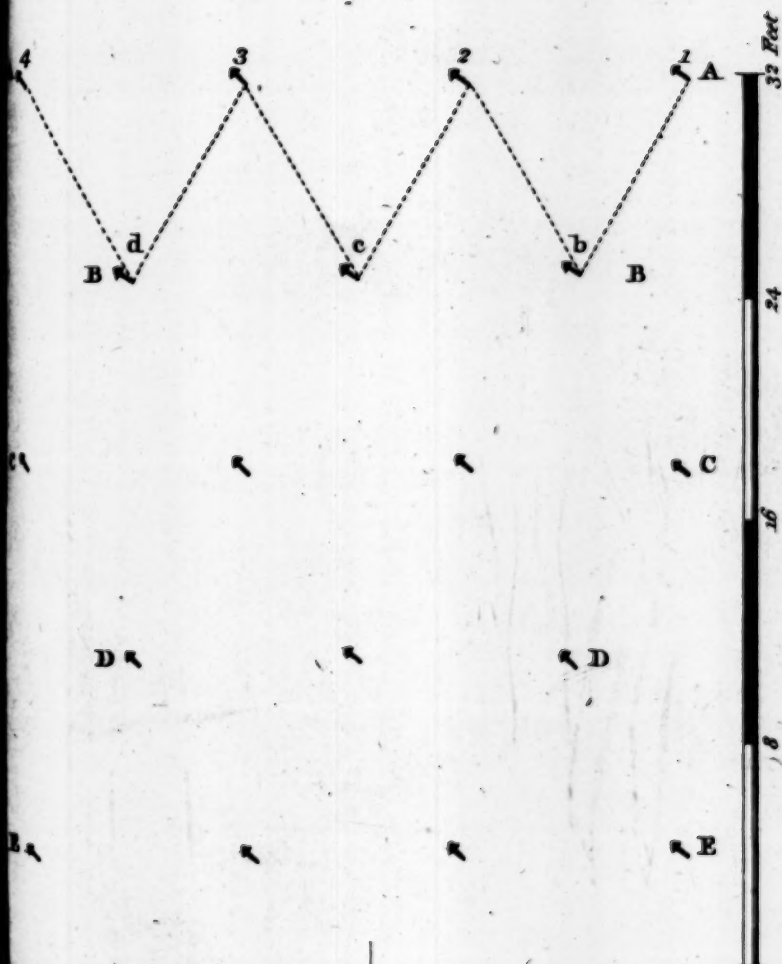
DWELLING AND COFFEE HOUSE.



- 1 Entry
- 2 Parlour
- 3 Dining-room
- 4 Bottlery
- 5 Office
- 6 Master's Bed-room
- 7 M's Dressing-room
- 8 M's Library
- 9 Rooms for Strangers
- 10 D^r occasionally
- 11)
- 12 Overseer's Apartment
- A Three rooms for the different
- B Works of Sieving Picking
- C and Weighing
- D A Room for the Harnesses
- E Stairs with a little room for the
Bags &c. underneath
- F Coffee Store
- G Lodges for the Scums
- H and Pickings
- I Electric Bar
- K Panes of Glass

rp[®]

Quineunx



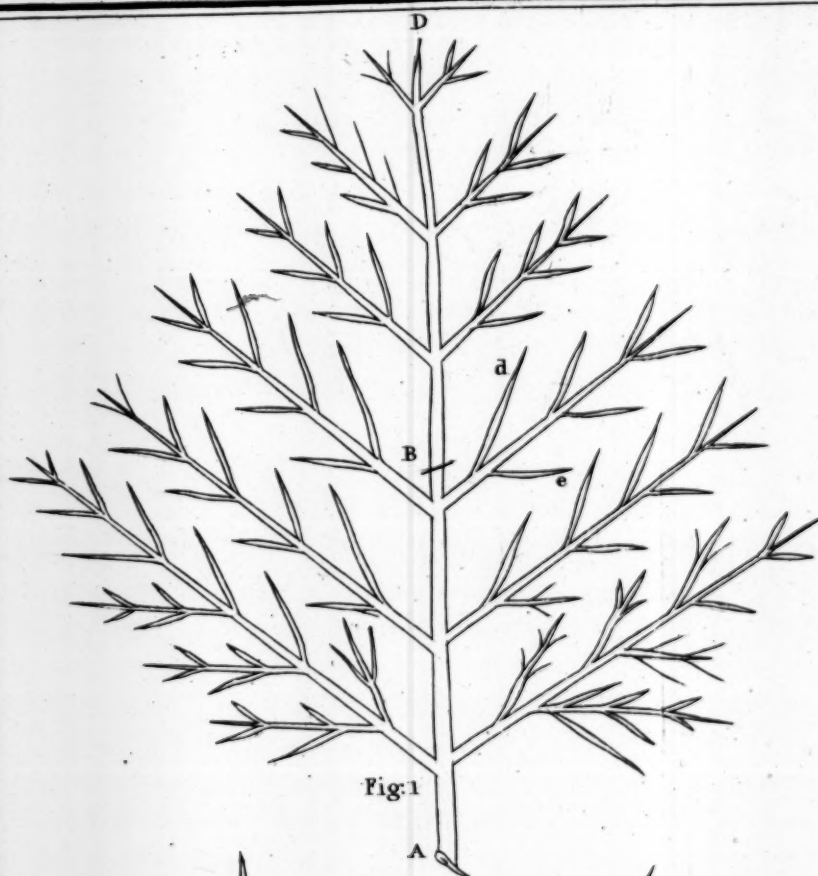


Fig. 1

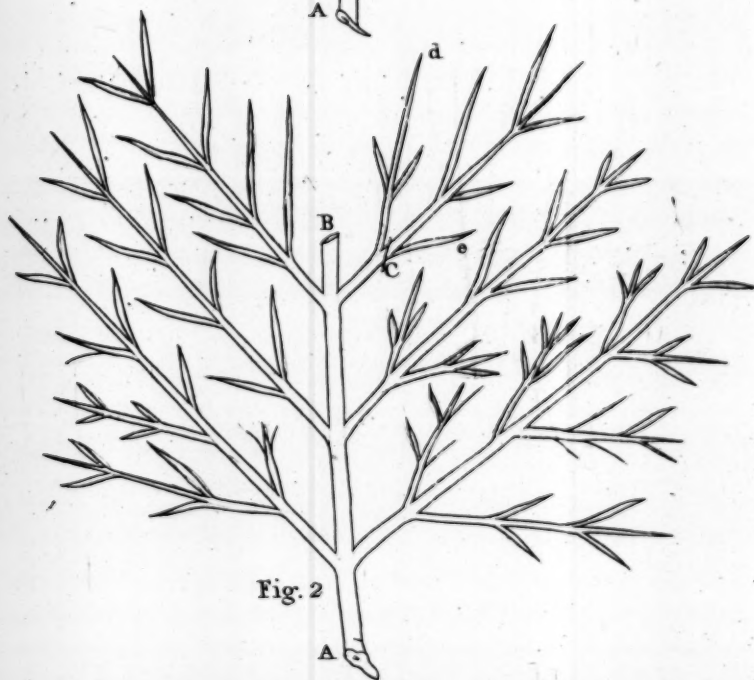
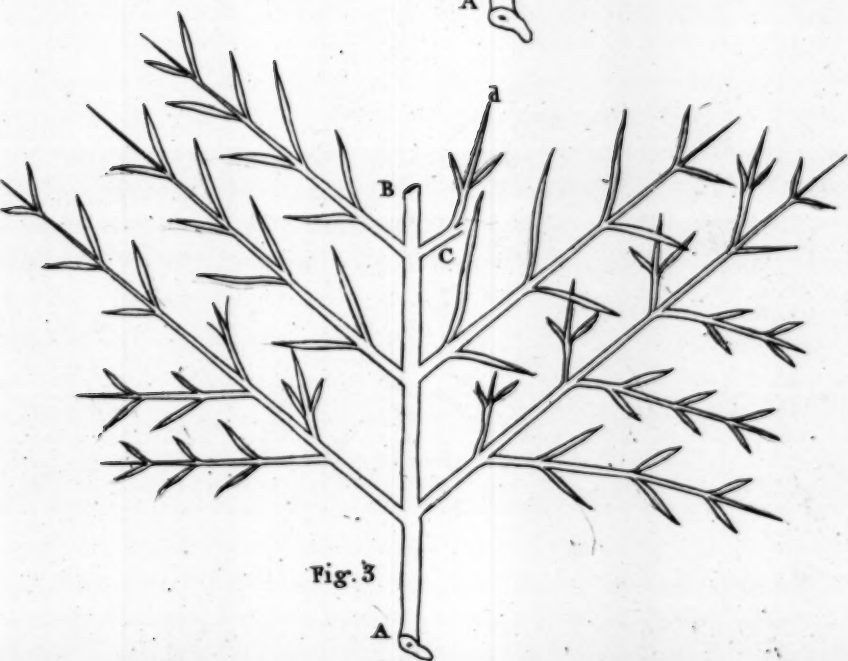
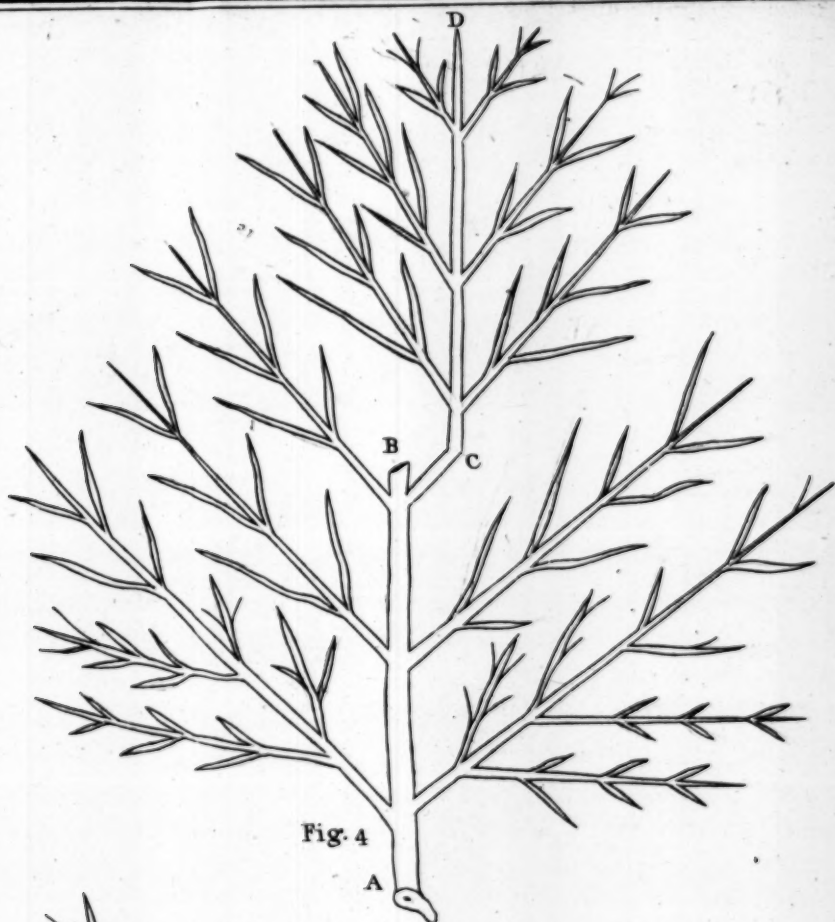


Fig. 2

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A P P E N D I X.

A REVIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTION,
LAWS AND STATE OF ST. DOMINGO, BEFORE
THE REVOLUTION, AND UNDER THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT.

I HINTED above that, after I should have explained all the various particulars relative to one of the richest and most considerable cultures of St. Domingo, I should proceed to give an account of the constitution, laws, and government of that island; a government which, after long experience, has been found to be well calculated to promote the success of husbandry and trade, and to protect and cherish the happiness of the planters.

Though some may be of opinion, that this enquiry has not sufficient connexion with the preceding subject, so as to appear in the same work, it must at least be allowed, that it is at all times an object of curiosity to the philosopher and statesman; and, I may add, that the present occasion particularly invites me to the task I have undertaken. The affairs of St. Domingo nearly concern the British nation, and demand, in a most pressing manner, the attention of administration.

I do not dive into the womb of futurity, or pretend to foretell the consequences of the present state of affairs in Europe; but I implore the Almighty for the re-establishment of my country, and the success of the British forces and government, the leading motive of my writing the following pages. If, however, I am unfortunately disappointed in these my hopes, this small tract may still be interesting, as exhibiting a faithful picture of the happiest and finest colony in the West Indies, fallen into a state of wretchedness little short of destruction, by the effect of the most fatal revolution recorded in history.

In order the better to arrange every object in its proper place, I shall divide this short review under different heads, comprehending all the articles that are most essential; namely, the legislature—the executive government—the courts of justice—the different orders of inhabitants, and the population—the revenues and taxes of all kinds—the culture and produce—the different branches of commerce—the religion and religious establishments as well as those of charity—the military system and establishment—lastly, some hints concerning the present state of the British possessions.

ART. I. LEGISLATURE.

If the word legislature is to be understood in the sense usually applied to it by English writers, it must be observed that, in reality, a legislature neither existed in France nor in any of her colonies.

^{1.}
The King. The King, with the assistance of his privy council, possessed the whole legislative authority. The power of the French parliaments (not a legislature, but merely a supreme court of justice) extended no farther than to *verify*, that is to register in record, and make known to the public the laws of his majesty.

majesty. The right of rejecting was not allowed to it; nay, that of remonstrating was only admitted with limitation.

The government of St. Domingo was regulated by this principle. It submitted to the general laws of the mother kingdom, in what respected the civil state, rights and property of the subject, the means of acquiring and transferring property, of redressing private and public wrongs.

1°. Those laws of the kingdom are the unwritten law or *customs of Paris*; the General Laws of his majesty, concerning marriages, wills, gifts, entails, actions civil or criminal, and proceedings thereupon, and several others; all binding equally French subjects, whether in France itself, or in the foreign dominions and possessions depending upon France.

2. General
Laws of
France.

2°. It submitted to those particular edicts and laws, which his majesty thought proper, on different occasions, to enact for the government, administration, and regulation of the colony. Nay, the will of the sovereign sometimes manifested itself in less material occurrences, in even a less regular form, as in a simple letter of the minister, a certain edict having previously directed that those letters written in the name of his majesty, should be considered as law, to all intents and purposes.

3. Coloni-
al Edicts.

3°. The governor and intendant, the Representatives of his Majesty, and the heads of the government in St. Domingo, were impowered to enact, jointly, such provisional regulations as the existing exigencies of the colony required, which had the power of law till repealed by his majesty.

4. His
Majesty's
Represent-
atives.

The customs of Paris, and royal general laws of France, applicable to the colony, had been introduced into it without formal Promulgation; being a consequence of the connexion subsisting with the mother-

5. Pro-
mulgation.

mother-country, and applying to all French subjects at home or abroad.

But colonial laws, both the laws of his majesty, and representatives, required record and publication. This was made in the king's high courts of justice, or *councils superior*; it did not, however, give the law any additional degree of authority; it only made it public, so that no subject could, after this, pretend ignorance. The law was directed to the attorney general, who presented it by a bill filed by himself on purpose. It was recorded, printed, and posted up; and then sent by the attorney-general, with the decree of the court, to all the inferior courts or jurisdictions, where it was publicly read and recorded at the instance of the king's attornies. After this, all the courts and judges were bound to take notice of it *ex officio*.

6. Representations.

No causes were sufficient to postpone promulgation, after a law was presented; and still less execution, when proclaimed and recorded. The superior councils were allowed to make Representation (if they found good cause) either to his majesty or to his representatives, but without, in the mean time, affecting the validity or interrupting the course of the law, while the regard paid to the representation was entirely at the option of the legislator. The governor and intendant were authorized, by their private instructions, to stop the execution of the king's laws, if they as well as the court were sensible of material grievances.

7. Bye Laws.

The high courts had the privilege also of making some Bye Laws (Reglements) for professional discipline, for the regulation of their subordinate or ministerial officers; and, sometimes, for the better execution of the laws. But this power was confined within narrow limits; and instances are not wanting, where some of those bye laws have been cancelled by his majesty, though he, at the same time,

ARTICLE II.

time, enacted the substance of the regulation into a law of regular form.

The colonial laws have been collected by M. Moreau de St. Mery, down to the last of December 1785; the revolution having prevented the farther continuation of the work.

Lastly, It must be observed, that in cases where the above laws were not sufficiently explicit, Civil Law was resorted to, as rule of decision, *ratio scripta*; likewise Canon Law, and the printed decisions of the courts of parliament.

2. Civil or Canon Law.

ART. II. EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

The Minister of the Marine was also Minister of the Colonies. He had the whole direction and superintendence of the government. The business of all the civil, military, administrative, commercial, and ecclesiastical departments, was conveyed through him, to and from his majesty. He was also, in latter times, in lieu of chancellor, with respect to the colonies.

1. Minister.

Before I speak of the interior government, it will be proper to mention, that the French part of St. Domingo was divided into three principal divisions or grand departments, viz. West, North, and South; each of which was again subdivided into lesser districts or jurisdictions, comprehending a certain number of parishes, as follows:

2. Division of the Territory.

Departments.	Districts and Towns.	PARISHES.
West.	{ Port au Prince	Port au Prince.
		Leoganç.
		Croix des Bouquets.
		Arcahayc.
		Mirbalais.

West,

APPENDIX.

Departments.	Districts and Towns.	PARISHES.
West, continued.	Saint Marc	St. Marc. Vérètes. Petite Riviere. Gonaïves.
	Petit Goave	Petit Goave. Grand Goave. Fond des Negres. Anse Aveau. Petit Trou.
	Cap François	Cap François. Petite Anse. Plaine Durord. I. àeul. Limonade. Sainte Sufanne. Quartico Morin. Grande Riviere. Limbé. Dordon. Marmelade. Port Margo. Gros Morne. Plais Ance. Le Borgne.
North	Fort Dauphin	Fort Dauphin. Ouanaminthe. Valliere. Terrier Rouge. Le Trou.
	Port Depaix	Port Depaix et Tortue. St. Louis du Nord. Gros Morne. Jean Rabel. Le Mole. Bombarde.
		South.

ARTICLE II.

Departments.	Districts and Towns.	PARISHES.
South	Les Cayes St. Louis - -	{ Les Cayes St. Lewis. Cap Tiburon. Tes Coteaux. Torbeck.
	Saint Louis -	{ Saint Louis. Aquin. Cavaillon.
	Jacmel - -	{ Jacmel. Cayes Jacmel. Baynet.
	Jeremie - -	{ Jeremie. Cap Dame Marie.

The general form of the Government was military. The civil power, courts and magistrates, as well as other subjects of all denominations, were strictly subordinate to and dependant upon the governor and the intendant. Such a form of administration, though liable to great inconveniences, was justly considered as best suited to a country at a great distance from the seat of government; the resort of people of mixed characters, and, above all, as cultivated by slaves far out numbering the whites and free inhabitants.

Some Checks, however, were provided against the arbitrary exertions of discretionary power.

1st. All the branches of public revenue, not of general application, but appropriated to particular grand divisions, were not under the controul of the executive. Nay, the statement and assessment of the general taxes did not belong to it.

2dly. The respective limits of the military, administrative, and judicial powers (branches of the executive)

APPENDIX.

executive) were exactly defined by the laws. The one was strictly prohibited not to encroach upon the other; and, if a subject applied to government for redress of an injury cognizable in the courts, he was liable to damages upon an action brought before the court. This check, however indirect, served in a great measure to prevent trespasses.

5. Boards
of Agri-
culture.

3dly. There were two Boards of Agriculture, one at the Cape for the North, the other at Port au Prince for the West and South, composed of seven principal planters and a secretary. They had an agent at Versailles of their own appointment. They held regular meetings. Vacancies at the board were filled up by the existing members. They had no salary. That of the secretary was 5,200 livres (*a*), the agents from the whole colony 12,000 livres.

Besides the privilege of transmitting to the minister, in the most full and unreserved manner, such information as they judged conducive to the benefit of the island and its inhabitants, they were *bound in duty* to convey to him, after the death or departure of every governor or intendant, an exact account of the character, the abilities, the views, the conduct and probity, with a scrutiny into and estimate of the good or evil which had arisen from his administration. This information was transmitted to the minister, through the agent; but a copy was at the same time sent to the existing government, which was likewise required to be forwarded, with the necessary observations and remarks.

I need scarcely mention the power reserved to the subject, of applying individually to his majesty, for redress against private stretch of power. Such applications, though perhaps not entirely destitute of influence, had but very seldom any direct public

(*a*) For the understanding of the several sums mentioned in this Appendix, which are all in Colonial currency. see the comparative table at the end,

effect,

ARTICLE II.

effect, under the idea of weakening authority and confidence in the executive.

There was, however, in the service of France, a check to unwarrantable conduct, of greater influence than any that political regulations could devise. I mean a certain point of honour, a certain liberal and disinterested spirit, which reigned in the breasts of the officers in the French monarchy; regard to character, to the opinion of the public, and a great emulation of advancement to rank. A governor who acted ill was seldom brought to trial, but he was superceded in his office; contempt followed him to his retreat. Such a consideration could not fail to influence, in a high degree, those men who, after thirty years service, believed themselves to be better rewarded by a distinction of honour than a large pension.

Upon the whole it is justice to say, that though government possessed the power of being oppressive, it was never so in reality. Sometimes a governor might be deceived, and if in some instances complaints have been found to be grounded, in most they have been found to be the railings of enraged men, complaining of treatment which their conduct had fully deserved.

Government consisted of two distinct Branches, the military and the administrative. Hence there was an officer at the head of each, distinct in their functions. I shall first mention them with their subordinates. I shall next explain their powers and duties.

6. Two Branches.

The Governor-General was the head of the military. He was always an able experienced officer, either lieutenant-general or major-general (maréchal de camp.)

7. Governor-General, and

Sometimes a lieutenant-governor; sometimes, in time of war, a commander in chief of the troops, were under him. But this was not usual.

The

The governor was also inspector-general of the troops, militia, artillery, and fortifications. The naval force (which in time of peace was not very considerable) was also subordinate to the governor, as far as the connexion of sea and land service required.

8. His
subordi-
nate Offi-
cers.

The Officers subordinate to the governor, were a commander *en second* at Port-au-Prince for the West, one at the Cape for the North, and one at the Cayes for the South. They have been, in general, younger *maréchals-de camp*, since the suppression of the rank of brigadier. In default of a lieutenant-governor, the senior of these assumed the government provisionally, in case of the death of the governor.

In every one of the lesser districts before mentioned, and at the Mole and Tiburoon, there was formerly an *état-major*, composed of a lieutenant of the king, a town major, and an adjutant major; but lately there was only a particular commander, and in the largest towns an adjutant, who was commonly an officer of the garrison. The authority of these commanders was extended to all the parishes within the districts. The senior officers of militia had the chief command in their respective parishes; and from all these, to the governor-general, there was correspondence, subordination, and responsibility, in a regular channel, through the immediate superior.

The residence of the governor (as well as of the intendant) was at Port-au-Prince, as centre of the island in times of peace; at the Cape, as the most convenient situation, affording protection to the rest in times of war.

All the subordinate officers were removable at pleasure, (except the commanders of militia, who continued in office for life) the governor-general (as well as the intendant) remained in the station only for three years. This was one of the greatest faults

ARTICLE II.

11

faults in our constitution, the governor retiring from his office, at the time he began to be fit to discharge the duties of it. The board of agriculture at the Cape had proposed, before the revolution, that the government should devolve of right, every three years, on the senior of the commanders *in second*, who should previously have resided, for three years, in each of the three great departments. Thus, every governor could be furnished with the opportunity of acquiring the most perfect knowledge of the colony, so that a settled and uniform plan of government might be better pursued.

The powers and functions of the intendant were expressed in his title, *intendant of justice, police, finance, war, and navy*. As he was chief justice of the island, and as this function was deemed the most respectable of all, he was usually taken from among the judges of the king's courts of parliament; an admirable precaution; for, as all the powers of government, essentially affecting the subject, were in common between the governor and the intendant, the usual severity of military command was tempered by the more gentle methods of the civilian, and the propensity of a soldier to arbitrary stretches of power was checked by the more formal cautiousness of a lawyer.

9.
Intendant,
and his

The corps, called *the body of the administration* (which was also an honourable employment in the ports of France) formed the subordinate assistants of the intendant. This corps consisted of commissaries general, commissaries ordonator, commissaries, principal and ordinary clerks of the marine. The store-keepers and the receivers of the prerogative revenues were other subordinate officers. The three grand departments were administered by commissaries, either general or ordonators; the other officers were employed under them, either in the same

10.
Subordi-
nate
Officers,

P

places,

places, or in the districts, as the intendant thought proper to appoint. There was a regular chain of correspondence and subordination, every thing resorting ultimately to the general centre of power (the intendant), as every order and direction was originally derived from him.

11.
Controller.

I must not omit to mention, in a particular manner, an officer belonging to this body, *viz. the controller of the marine*. The controller, though in some respects subordinate to the intendant, and even provisionally appointed by him, in case of vacancy, was, however, as the eye of the king in the administration. His approbation and signature were necessary in every transaction, even in every transaction of the intendant: he had the power of denying it, informing the minister of his motives. Every bargain, expence, payment, or purchase, was recorded in his office.

There was a general verifier of accounts, to assist the intendant in the settlement of such accounts as fell under his cognizance. Notaries public were also appointed in all the districts, to make and record all bargains, acquittances, &c. relating to administration. (Notaries of the intendance.)

12. Greffe
of the
intendance.

There was also an office of record for the government and intendance (*greffe de l' intendance*), where all grants, charters, and determinations of the governor and intendant were registered. A very moderate fee was paid to the clerk of the register (*greffier*), on that account. In every department there was an office of the same kind, (*greffe de la subdelegation*). All these were appointed by the intendant (a).

This system seems extensive, if the great extent of the colony is not attended to. It will be found,

(a) The minutes or records of the surveyors of lands were deposited in those offices at their death or final departure from the colony.

however,

however, to have been a very æconomical arrangement.

The whole salary of the governor was 150,000 livres.

13. Salaries.

The intendant, 120,000 livres.

N. B. They had no allowances, only a small gratuity for a single tour through the colony.

The commanders en seconde and commissaries general, 36,000 livres.

The commanders of districts and commissaries, 9,000 livres.

The others in proportion.

N. B. The governor and intendant had lodgings in the king's houses. The next officers had a stated sum allowed, or a lodging furnished where the offices in which they were employed were held.

The governor and intendant supported their respective secretaries at their own expence. No fees were permitted to be received, nothing being paid for grants, charters, passports, commissions, nor for any instrument delivered at the secretary's office. The secretaries had, for the time, very scanty salaries, but looked forward to a place of trust and profit, at the departure of their master, if they were conscious of having acted well (a).

14. Secretaries.

It appears from former and from present experience, that the division of the military and administrative branches of government is extremely necessary. A military man is seldom found qualified for the minute detail of civil business; and though even that were the case, the two departments would be too extensive for a single person; add to which, that, when every thing depends on him alone, his actions may be arbitrary, as there is no check;

15. Governor's powers.

(a) The experience of the PRESENT times makes this observation necessary. The history of the secretary's office of this island, in all probability, is not known in England.

whereas it will be different when two men of character are concerned in the same business, or in matters co-relative.

The powers here were either distinct or they were in common, and the boundaries of both were marked with precision.

The governor general was more immediately the representative of his majesty. State and exterior dignity of power were attached to his person. He was entitled to a guard of honour. When present in the king's courts, after being introduced with respect and ceremony, he sat in his majesty's royal chair, which was unoccupied when he did not attend. He had the chief command over all officers commanding either troops of the line, army, artillery, engineers, or militia. He granted provisional or acting commissions and appointments in the above departments. His authority extended over the navy and its officers, over all the masters and crews of the ships trading in the harbours, and over all the planters and inhabitants of the colony.

He was the supreme guardian of general peace, charged to keep all subjects in due allegiance, loyalty, and submission; entrusted with the external defence of the island, the protection of trade and justice, the execution of the laws and judgments, and more particularly of those of admiralty courts.

He possessed the exclusive right of giving the inhabitants leave to depart from the colony, taking care previously that satisfaction or security were given to their creditors (*a*).

16.
Intendant's
powers.

The intendant, as chief justice, was *first* president of the superior councils. He watched the conduct of all the judges and ministerial officers in the co-

(*a*) An intended departure must be proclaimed thrice in court, in the gazette, and at the church-door on Sundays after service; and a certificate of the court's register must be produced, either that no claims have been made, or that they have been satisfied.

lony,

lony, to prevent or punish neglects, frauds, extorsions, bribery and corruption, and to ensure relief being given by the courts to plaintiffs.

All the officers of administration were immediately dependant upon him. He distributed them in the several departments, as he thought fit, and, in case of vacancy, granted provisional or acting commissions, which were usually confirmed by his majesty.

He superintended the collection, management, and appropriation of the general prerogative revenue and taxes. He appointed the receivers of the former: these were accountable to him only. He settled the accounts of the receivers of colonial taxes, with the assistance of two commissioners of the superior council, after the examination of the verifier general of accounts. The debtors and accountants to his majesty, and to the colony, were also compelled, by his authority, to give satisfaction.

All bargains, purchases, expenditures relating to the army, the navy, fortifications, public works and buildings, as also the pay of the military, and salaries of civil officers, were ordered by him. All the stores and hospitals were under his inspection. All mariners belonging to trade fell under his discipline.

All bargains, purchases, and payments required to be made according to settled rules and formalities; and, in general, there was an admirable system of œconomy, expedition, safety, and perspicuity in matters of account.

In matters of joint power, the governor had the preponderance, in case the opinion of the intendant was different, liable, however, to the final determination of his majesty. 17. Joint Powers.

Public works of convenience or embellishment were ordered in common, by the governor and intendant.

tendant. The plans and devices were drawn and laid down by the engineer in chief, who superintended the execution, and gave in his report. The bargains and payments were in the province of the intendant.

The grants of demesne lands and waters (*a*); the emancipation of slaves (*b*); the opening, making, and repairing of public roads and bridges; the police of harbours, waftes, rivers, and ferry boats;

(*a*) These grants were wholly gratuitous, and not liable to rent or services. The following were the formalities. The surveyor of lands for the parish delivered to the party a certificate, setting forth that such land, of such figure, extent, and boundaries, existed in demesne lands. This was countersigned by the officer commanding, and proclaimed, for three successive Sundays, at the church gate, after the service. Upon this, the grant was made and registered in the office of record, if no claim had been preferred in the mean time. The conditions were, to settle the land in a given time, and not to sell it before it was settled, under the penalty of forfeiture. The surveyor of lands then measured the land, after information and legal summons given to the neighbours, whose claims were determined by the courts after this; or if no claim had been made, *buts* were planted in the corners of the land, marked with the cypher of the surveyor. The record and the chart of the land remained at his office, and a legal copy was delivered by him to the party. This was the lawful entry, and gave the landlord a legal right of possession, *jus in re*, whereas the charter gave only an imperfect title, *jus ad rem*.

The following was the mode of adjudging the forfeitures. Upon information given by any person that the land was liable to forfeiture, the king's attorney brought an action in the inferior court. After trial by witnesses and inspection, the judge pronounced his opinion (not a sentence) which was transmitted, together with the record, to the land's court (tribunal terrier) composed of the governor, the intendant, and three judges of the superior council, who determined the question, liable to an appeal to his majesty in council. In 1787, that court was suppressed, and those questions were determined by the governor and intendant.

(*b*) These were the formalities of emancipation. Upon a petition given to the governor and intendant, a tax was fixed, and the master was authorized to manumit the slave, which was done by deed before a notary public. The deed was proclaimed, for three different days, at the inferior court, and if no claim was made, or if made after it had been satisfied, the first warrant, the deed and proclamations endorsed, and the receipt of the receiver of the taxes being presented to the governor and intendant, the charter was granted, and recorded in the records of intendance and those of the court. I shall treat the subject of emancipations in another place, and under a different view.

ARTICLE II.

the general purveyance of victuals ; fishing in public rivers ; hunting in demesne lands and others ; the provisional appointment of the chief officers in the inferior courts, and the final one of all the subordinate and ministerial officers of the same, were concerns of joint authority.

If a culprit had been sentenced to death for excusable homicide (the French laws being so far severe) they were jointly authorized to arrest execution, with the consent of the attorney general, till the king's pleasure was known.

In case of public necessity, they were empowered (after information taken) to admit foreign importation of flour and bread, as well as exportation of sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo, for a specified time.

The discipline of the clergy, the temporal interests of the parishes and church establishments, as the erections of parishes, the purchase of land for the church and vicar house, the building and considerable repairs of the same, fell under their joint direction.

They had the power to try and condemn to death the fraudulent receivers of public revenue, assisted by five judges of the superior council and an attorney for the crown.

I may have omitted some minutiae, but the above are the chief powers, and such was the system of government before the year 1789.

In general, the determination of the governor and intendant were given, after information brought by, or desired from their subordinate officers, in the grand departments or petty districts,

18.
Powers of
subordi-
nate of-
ficers.

These were impowered to determine the most urgent and provisional business. They were charged with the execution of the warrants of their superiors, and with all the local details of government and

administration. In other cases they applied for decision or judgment.

19. Limits and correspondence with the Spaniards.

The greatest part of the island belongs to the Spaniards. After several disputes on account of limits, commissaries were appointed by both governments, in the year 1776, to settle and mark a boundary in a clear and unequivocal manner, and a treaty was made in consequence. Inspectors of limits were appointed by both sides. The French inspector was a general officer; his salary and the amount of his lodging were 22,000 livres.

By the treaty, the restitution of the runaway negroes was reciprocally stipulated, at a certain premium, with costs. A commissary of the French resided, for that purpose, in the Spanish territory. He had a fixed salary, paid by the masters of the negroes.

The Spanish colonists supplied the French with cattle for the butcher. The merchants carried passports from the government; and the tolls paid in passing the limits were fixed at so much per head.

The treaty had adjusted all points in contest. Mutual intercourse and correspondence took place, and no dispute has arisen since. I shall, in another place, mention another trade carried on between the two colonies.

ART. III.—COURTS OF JUSTICE.

BEFORE I give an account of our courts of justice, and of course of the proceedings prescribed by our laws in suing for redress of injuries, it will be previously necessary to give a concise but general idea of the laws relating to property, and of the modes of acquiring or conveying it. Personal rights were such as might be expected in a

mere

ARTICLE III.

99

mere monarchical government, and yet in a remote settlement, where every indulgence and encouragement, consistent with public safety, was granted to the subject.

Our property was deemed real, personal, or mixed. *Real*, in lands and tenements. *Personal*, in things moveable. *Mixed*, in heirlooms, &c. ^{1. Property.}

Negroes were, in fact, personal property; but, in some instances, had the privilege of real. For instance, they could only be executed for debt, when the land on which they were actually employed was also under execution, unless the debt in question be expressly for the purchase of those individual negroes.

Our incorporeal hereditaments consisted mostly of *servitudes*, either *urbanæ* or *prædiales*, as ways, commons of pastures, &c. In general, they were acquired only by the operation of the law, or by express agreement, but never by prescription.

Our law was not by any means so nice in its distinctions, nor so free in admitting of fictions, as British law; and as our personal property was generally of great value, there was very little difference in the modes of conveying property, whether real or personal. There were, however, some instances of difference in title by descent, and in the liberty of conveying by will or by purchase, which will be remarked hereafter.

Our property in lands though really originating from the king, was not liable to those feudal tenures and services introduced by the laws of England, from a mere fiction of that principle. All our lands and tenements were held rather as *allodial* than as fee simple. From this single circumstance it may be supposed, that our system must have possessed a great degree of simplicity. Our interest in hereditaments and tenements was not indeed entirely free from the general distinctions incident to them; ^{2. Lands and Tenements.}

them; but the consequences of the distinctions produced here much less intricacy than where the system is borrowed from feudal law, however mitigated.

The general distinction of **four** property, *as to title*, was by descent or by purchase.

3.
Title by
Descent.

Descent was lineal or collateral.

At the death of a parent or progenitor, all the children had an equal right to his or her inheritance, real and personal, without any preference of sex or primogeniture. Representation took place *in infinitum*.

In collateral descent, the next heir was preferred, without distinction of sex. Two or more heirs, in the same degree, had equal rights. Here representation took place only in so far as the children of a brother or sister were admitted, with their uncle or aunt, to the inheritance of another uncle or aunt, deceased; but a distinction was admitted (undoubtedly a consequence of the French feudal law) in real estates of inheritance (*propres*) left. These were inherited only by the heirs of the line paternal or maternal from which they were derived; *paterna paternis, materna maternis*.

The progenitors or parents of the person deceased, dying without children, were only entitled to his personal property and real estates of purchase. The rule was *propres ne remontent*,

All heirs whatever were liable to all debts and incumbrances, *pro modo emolumenti*, even without *assets*, and though not expressly charged or mentioned in the obligations; but, by relief granted in chancery (*lettres de bénéfice d'inventaire*) they were bound only as far as the *assets* enabled them to pay.

In collateral descent, the severe distinction of whole and of half blood was not admitted, as in the law of England.

Purchase,

ARTICLE III.

21

Purchase, in general, signified any title other than that by descent; even the real estate, conveyed by a father, by gift or devise, was purchase. This title was different in kind.

4.
Purchase.

The parents were restricted in the disposal of their property by will. One half of the share, to which every child had a right by law, must have been left untouched. There was another restriction. Though lands of lineal inheritance might be alienated *inter vivos*, they were capable of being bequeathed by will only as far as the fifth part. No other check had been made on the liberty of devising, except in the case of bastards.

5.
Devises.

Devises were either *universal*, that is, of the whole inheritance, or of property of a certain kind; or *particular*, that is, of a certain estate or certain thing. The devisee of the former only was liable to debts, but *pro modo emolumenti*, or with *assets*.

Heirs were vested by law. Universal devisees must have been vested by the right heir, either amicably, or by judgment of the court.

Wills and codicils were of two kinds:

6.
Wills.

One, holograph, that is, entirely written and signed by the testator, with the rasures and insertions, if there were any, approved. The use of seals was not admitted.

Another, written by a notary public, in the presence of another notary, or of two witnesses, who signed with the testator, the will having been dictated by him, and read over to him after it was written.

Wills were liable to a kind of *probate*, but in the court of common law, as the laws of France do not admit of the jurisdiction of the ordinary on that account, and as this jurisdiction was not admitted in the colony in any respect.

Executors were vested of the whole property, real or personal, for the payment of legacies and debts

debts, for one year; but if the heirs were absent, they might be vested for five years. Where there was no will or no executor appointed, the heirs being absent, public administrators were vested; yet any relation, however remote, might claim the possession, giving proper security. But all these were only managers, accountable to the heirs.

There was a peculiarity in our laws. All guardians were appointed by the judge, assisted with the family. Progenitors, and even the mother of the pupils, had a right to be preferred. The choice made by the father's will was attended to; but the election strictly lay with the judge.

Executors, administrators, and guardians, were obliged to conform to settled rules, which the nature of this work does not permit to enumerate.

7.
Gifts.

A gift or *donatio* was a conveyance, without a valuable consideration, of some estate, or of some valuable thing, and even of the whole property. These were liable to reserves, restrictions, conditions, and reversions, as devises. They must have been made by public notaries, and recorded in court in a limited time, under the penalty of being void. They also became void, if the donor afterwards begot a child, provided he had none at the time the gift was made.

8.
Marriages.

Marriages were usually preceded by deeds of settlement made by notaries public. If there was none, the customs of Paris settled a commonalty of all moveables, and of lands purchased during wedlock (conquets) and a dowry for the wife, in case of her survivorship.

There was great liberty allowed in the marriage contracts as to conditions or stipulations.

The most usual were, a commonalty limited or extended at pleasure, or no commonalty at all. The husband was perfect lord of the commonalty while he lived, but he could not by will abridge his wife's

wife's share. *Vivit ut dominus, moritur ut socius*. He had also the full management of his wife's other property, but it could not be alienated unless by common consent.

A dowry for the wife was entirely arbitrary, and resembled the English *jointures* rather than dowries of the common law.

A prelibation for the survivor, upon the commonalty, also arbitrary.

Lastly, a gift, mutual or not, more or less extensive, in case there were no children. By common law, the commonalty being liable to all the preceding debts of the parties, a provision to the contrary was usually made, as also in case of the sale of any of the wife's estates.

After marriage, nothing could be added or altered in those stipulations, by gift or will, except by mutual gift, if there were no children.

Canonical impediments rendered a marriage void; but it could be annulled with more difficulty after the death of one of the parties, or if children were begotten. Bastards born before marriage were legitimated *per subsequens matrimonium* to all intents and purposes.

The legal requisites for the lawfulness of the marriage were, mutual consent and capacity (for minors under twenty-five years of age, the consent also of parents or guardians) three proclamations in church, the presence or consent of *proprii parochi*, and the solemnization in the parish church, before four witnesses, were necessary.

There was no divorce. Separation of property, or separation a *mensâ et thoro*, could only be adjudged by the courts for very strong causes.

Substitutions sometimes took place in gifts, devises, or marriage settlements. They had something of the English tails, uses and trusts, and were much like

9. Substitutions.

like the *fidei commissa* of the civil law. An estate was given to A. remainder to his children, or to his male or female children, or to his heirs general, or to another person, or to his children or heirs, born or unborn.

This title was liable to nice formalities, and one of the most intricate points of our law; but it was seldom employed in St. Domingo.

10.
Uses.

There existed a title where possession and use were in one person, and property belonged to another. It derived frequently from the preceding titles, and chiefly from marriage contracts. It is the *usufructus* of the civil law. The *usufructuarius* could make or suffer no waste.

It must be understood, that from all the preceding titles different tenancies might result, as severalty, coparcenary, joint-tenancy, or tenancy in common. Partition might be the consequence.

Here it is observable, that the estates of the West Indies are in general ruined by partitions, because the settlements are very expensive, and the extent of land ought to be proportionably great. At Martinico, partitions have been prohibited, perhaps when it was too late. The inconvenience had not been yet sensibly felt in St. Domingo; but the period approached when a similar provision would have been necessary,

11.
Leases.

Leases of lands have been found hurtful to the landlords, and they seldom took place, except for the estates of wards, which the guardians used to farm in open court. Then the *lessee* was bound to give two securities, responsible as well as himself, for the rents, for waste, and for the death of the negroes and cattle, and they might be arrested in execution, for that kind of debt of record.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding all those precautions, leases have been seldom found beneficial to wards (a).

Leases of houses in towns were, on the contrary, very frequent.

In general no lease exceeded nine years.

Our laws seem to have been more tender of the interest of the possessor; the English common law, and the statute of limitations, more of that of the original proprietor. 12. Prescription.

A debt, whatever, was prescribed by thirty years, though the deed or obligation might exist.

The right of possession was acquired after one year and one day.

The right of property, or *right right*, after ten years, when the party had been present, or twenty when absent, if the possessor was *bona-fide* and had a good title, suppose a charter of grant and lawful entry made, while the other with the same right had made no settlement on the land.

Property in land was acquired after a possession of thirty years, even without title.

Other limitations were shorter. Actions for rents were prescribed after five years; of debt for merchandize after one year; but here, the books of the merchant and the oath of the defendant might serve to admit or reject the limitation.

The causes of forfeitures of lands have been explained. Other forfeitures were effected by attainders. Fines were adjudged, in some cases, as penalties, as also forfeitures of goods and other things of the same specie; never forfeitures in money. Actions of *qui tam* were not admitted. 13. Forfeitures.

(a) The wards were emancipated by letters of chancery at sixteen years of age; then they could administer their property, but they could sell neither their estates nor their negroes. They and their guardians were under the protection and inspection of the courts, instead of the chancellor.

His majesty had no right in their estates, which right is merely feudal.

There

14.
Escheats.

There was no feudal escheat.

The inheritances of bastards intestate, of aliens, of persons who had no heirs, and had left no will, were escheats to his majesty.

15. Sale
and Purchase.

Now the word *purchase* bears a more limited sense.

One of the most usual modes of conveyance, both of real and of personal property, with almost no distinction, was by sale and purchase. The requisites for its validity were, *res, pretium, consensus*, and *traditio*, either real or conventional.

The warrantee of the vendor was of right, if there was no agreement to the contrary, and it would affect the heirs and successors of the vendor in general and of course.

Deeds of sale in general, where the thing was of any value, were executed by public notaries. But they (as well as all other agreements between subject and subject) might be strictly executed in private writing. In this case, when synallagmatick, that is, mutually obligatory, two copies must be made, signed, and reciprocally delivered.

16. Redemption.

A title of acquisition by custom may be the consequence of the former. Our laws were tender of preserving the estates of inheritance in families, and where such an estate had been sold, any relation of the vendor, in the line from which the estate proceeded, might redeem it in a year and a day, provided he repaid the price and full costs. But all expences made by the purchaser during that time were lost (*a*). An action was necessary, in which the proceedings were very nice and strict.

Bonds

(*a*) There was, in France, another right of redemption, merely feudal and belonging to the lord. This Mr. Smith seems to have had in view, volume 2. page 371. of his Enquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations. But I beg leave to observe that he seems not to have attended to the constitution of St. Domingo, when he says, that “in the French colonies the estates held by the noble tenure of chivalry
“ and

Bonds or obligations, of all kinds, were also performed in private writing or by notaries. But, though conditional obligations often took place; a bond of double the sum borrowed or due, which might be forfeited, if the real debt was not paid, was a stipulation which our laws did not admit.

17.
Bonds.

Judicial bonds or recognizances were not in use.

It is needless to speak of contracts or quasi contracts.

As to commercial affairs, I have little to say which differs from the English system; except that there were ten days of grace, instead of three, for the payment of bills of exchange or promissory notes; and that the laws of bankruptcy were not by any means so precise as in England.

I must now speak of Courts. The plan was very simple: but in the history of them, two periods must be distinguished. The following was the original. I shall take no farther notice of the tribunal terrier, abrogated in 1787 (as I have said in a preceding note) nor of the cognizance given to the governor and intendant, of the questions formerly tried in that court of attribution.

18.
Courts.

I have mentioned ten Districts. In each of them there was a court of common law and an admiralty court.

19.
Inferior.

The first consisted of a judge, a deputy judge or lieutenant, an attorney for the king, with two or three *substitutes* residing at the court, and another substitute in each parish; a recorder or register; and lastly, a court bailiff (*huissier audiencier*) who called the causes at the bar for trial.

20. Of
Common
Law.

Attornies, who were simple practitioners, were also counsels, and managed all the proceedings and

"and homage are, for a limited time, liable to the right of redemption by the heir of the superior family, or &c."

See what I have said, No. 2.

Q

pleadings

pleadings for the parties. Their numbers were fixed according as the extent of the territory required. They were commissioned and sworn in, after an attendance of five years in the business of the law. They served also in the admiralty courts.

A certain number of bailiffs (*buisfiers*, from the old French word *buis*, or door) were appointed to summon the parties, to notify and execute the proceedings and judgments, and to keep silence and order in the court. These ministerial officers attended by turns, in all the courts. They had a common office, where all the business was allotted, and the fees received in common shared every month. This arrangement had put a stop, or at least a check, to many abuses.

This court had the cognizance of all civil actions between the planters, inhabitants, and merchants of the district in general; as also of the pleas of the crown: but, in capital cases, additional judges were taken from among the senior attorneys.

21. Of
Admiralty.

Justice more expeditious and more coercive being necessary for the protection of sea trade, Admiralty courts were established. They consisted of a judge or lieutenant of admiralty, an attorney for the king, a register, and a court bailiff.

In the two principal towns, where the business was more extensive, all these officers were distinct from those of the other courts; but, in the lesser districts, the same persons officiated, though the functions, courts, and sittings, were still distinct.

These courts had cognizance of all actions of debt due to masters, supercargoes, and agents of ships trading in the harbour; of maritime contraband trade or smuggling, of all maritime contracts, which were not so restricted, in that respect, as in England; of all misdemeanors and crimes committed at sea, or in the harbour; of prizes made in time of war, &c.

There

There was a receiver of certain perquisites paid by the ships to the lord great admiral; this person accounted to his royal highness; and, together with the court, cleared out and licensed the ships.

There was also a harbour-master (*capitaine de port*) for the order of the port, who had pilots under him. But he was more dependent on the government than on the court of admiralty.

All the judges and ministerial officers, of both the inferior courts, had their fees settled, at a moderate rate, by tariff laws, or tables of rates.

The Colony had two high courts or *Councils Superior*, one at the Cape for the north, and one at Port-au-Prince, for the west and south.

27. Superior Councils.

In the earliest times, those councils were composed of planters, who served gratis. They were indeed very little skilled in law, but they were of the highest character and greatest wealth in the island. This respectable assembly was endued with great privileges, being deemed a kind of representation of the colony.

When, by the progress of culture, trade, and population, the increase and complication of business required more skill and more frequent attendance; lawyers were sent from France, who required to be supported by salaries, yet the functions and privileges of the court were not abridged: but, though the business of law might, by this means, be more ably managed, the interest of the colony was entrusted into the hands of strangers. Since that period, younger sons of planters, suitably educated, have been again admitted.

The courts, at the period I now describe, were composed of twelve judges, one of whom presided; four assistant judges, who were young men belonging to the landed interest, an attorney-general, with three substitutes, a register, and a court-bailiff.

Q 2

The

The governor (*a*), the commanders *en second*, the commanders particular, the commissaries general, and senior commissary of the place where the court resided, had the right of assisting and voting in all determinations of whatever kind, and this tended to enforce the power of government.

The salary of the president and attorney-general, paid by his majesty, was 17,000 livres; that of the counsellors, 13,500 livres; the assistant judges and substitutes of the attorney-general had only the prospect of preferment. They had no fees from the parties. By this means, they were more strict in checking the exactions of subordinate judges and ministerial officers. The register and court-bailiff had fees from the parties, and no salary (*b*).

When a vacancy happened among the principal members (as well as among the chief officers of the inferior courts) the council named three persons (*c*), one of whom was appointed by his majesty. The governor and intendant appointed the assistant judges and substitutes. They had also the right of appointing provisionally the members of the inferior courts. The final appointment belonged to his majesty, who took the recommendation of the lord great admiral, for those of the courts of admiralty.

A certain proportionable number of counsellors were commissioned also, to manage the proceedings and pleadings for the parties. These belonged to the body of advocates of France, and must (as also all the members of the courts) have been sworn as barristers in one of the courts of parliament, after

(*a*) The commissions of the governor and intendant were publicly read and registered in court, usually in their presence.

(*b*) When the members of the councils were absent from the colony, by leave of the governor and intendant, given only for indispensable reasons of sickness or business, their salary was reduced to 2,400 livres.

The military officers, when absent by leave, had no pay, unless by an express order from the minister.

(*c*) Taken from among the assistant judges and substitutes, the officers of inferior courts, and the advocates.

three

three years study, and after taking their degrees (licences) in the universities. They were entitled advocates, and their fees were settled by law, and rated in each sentence by the court.

The superior council did not take cognizance of original actions. The respective and gradual jurisdiction of courts being much respected. They only determined the appeals of all the sentences, either civil or criminal, of the inferior courts of common law and of admiralty, in their respective departments.

Independent of the privileges which are mentioned in other places of this review, the president, attorney-general, and counsellors, acquired personal nobility, after twenty years actual employment. This became transmissible and hereditary, if the son continued the profession, and served in it for the same time.

The general Police of the island belonged to the governor. But, here, by police, we understand the king's peace in each particular place, and the cognizance of summary disputes, assaults and batteries of common people; the good order of taverns, of wine or ale-houses, of inns, of gaming-houses, and of common prostitutes; the cleanness of streets, the removal of filth and common nuisance (a); the price of bread and meat; and the fitness of weights and measures in shops, markets, &c. This was the province of the judges, and king's attornies of the inferior courts in the towns; and of the *substitutes* in the parishes.

23.
Police.

The latter had some other judicial functions, as the setting the seals of the court upon the effects of the deceased, before legal inventory was taken; and a proceeding like the *coroner's inquest*, in case of any

(a) Every morning, the streets were swept and cleaned. At seven o'clock, public tumbrels took away the filth and rubbish; and then, if any nuisance was found, a fine was levied upon the delinquent.

sudden or violent death. All that was liable to the superior jurisdiction of the attorney-general and high court.

24.
Terms.

The sittings of the courts were not limited to fixed terms, nor were the judges itinerant, as those of the courts of Westminster.

Courts sat regularly through the whole year; viz. the superior councils thrice a week, except one month or six weeks in summer; the inferior courts had public sittings every week, for one, two, or three days, as the business required; besides private sittings every day for summary questions, or for the trial of indictments and pleas of the crown. A few days rest were allowed only at Christmas and Easter.

25. Jails.

As there were courts in every district, there were also Jails, where the civil and criminal prisoners were confined. To these were carried the runaway negroes, or negroes taken without passports. These were chained together, and employed in public works till claimed, as also negroes sentenced to perpetual or to temporary durance. Pounds for beasts strayed, or damage feasant, were there also. The gaolers observed certain laws; the discipline of the jails followed settled regulations; and the judges, the attornies of his majesty, and commissaries of the high court, had an inspection, chiefly for the relief of the prisoners.

Some civil officers were also sworn in, and dependent on the courts.

26.
Notaries.

Notaries Public were men skilled in the practice of law, and appointed to transact, more regularly, the deeds, wills, gifts, bargains of sale, bonds, and other contracts between the subjects.

The original instrument was left as *record* in the notary's office; (and in latter times another was sent to an office established at Versailles). The copies delivered to the parties were taken notice of by the courts

courts as authentic evidence. It was necessary that a second notary, or two witnesses, should have assisted in drawing up the instruments, as also to sign them.

This was a convenient institution, both for the preservation of the instrument, and for those who could not write; as notaries were to be found in every parish, and in all quarters of great towns. It was attended with other advantages.

As these deeds had a public character, and an undeniable date, they might indirectly affect persons unacquainted with the transaction, though *res inter alios acta*. Suppose a horse sold by A. to C. and claimed by B. was the case.

As the *hypotheca* of the civil laws was admitted of in our constitution, the notary's record produced that hypotheca, (as well as the judgments of courts), so that the real estate of the obligee was liable to the debt, even in the hands of a posterior purchaser, as in those of the obligee, his heir or devisee.

There was a Surveyor of Lands in every parish, a principal one in each district, and a general one in each grand department. Their principal functions have been already taken notice of. In the actions concerning property of lands, their inspection and reports were methods of trial, after issue joined.

27.
Surveyors
of Lands.

Surveyors of Roads, appointed in the same places, had much the same authority concerning the tracing and opening of the new public and private roads, and the trial of questions relating to the same. They also rated, every five years, the proportional tasks of each planter, in the repair and maintenance of parish roads.

28.
Of Roads.

There was also in every district or jurisdiction, a surveyor of Weights and Measures, who kept the standards, verified the same, and brought information of frauds and deficiencies.

29. Of
Weights &
Measures.

30. Parish
Vicars.

The Parish Vicars might also be considered as civil officers. 1st, As they partook occasionally of the functions of public notaries, as to wills, when the notary was not at hand. 2dly, As they kept three public registers, where the baptisms, marriages, and burials were recorded. One copy remained at the church; one was yearly deposited at the office of the court; and the other was sent to the office at Versailles. The abstracts of those books, signed by the vicar or by the register of the court, were legal evidence of age, of death, of filiation and descent, in trials.

31. Public
Admini-
strators.

Lastly, I have mentioned the Public Administrators, or *guardians of vacant inheritances*.

In France, the inheritance of a man who died without heirs apparent, devolved on the lord by escheat (desherance). But, as many persons in the colonies had their natural heirs in France, five years were allowed to them, that they might have time to gain notice, and to put in their claims: So, where there was no executor appointed, the public guardian was vested, for the time, during which he was accountable to the heirs, and afterwards to his majesty, as lord of the island. The property was then sold; but the heirs could still claim the proceeds from the king. These officers were appointed by the superior councils (in every one of the ten districts) with proper securities, and were every year accountable to the same. This was one of the original privileges of those courts. These guardians must strictly conform to settled rules; and could perform the functions of attornies, in all the questions relating to their administration.

The guardians of *wards* were quite different; and his majesty had no interest in *their* property, as no feudal system was admitted in the colony.

32. Police
Corps.

In the largest towns, a Corps of ministerial police was established, more or less considerable, for the
assist-

assistance of the principal officers in these their functions. It was composed of inspectors, *exempts*, brigadiers and serjeants. They were authorized to make summary records (*procès verbal*) of delinquencies, and thus bring information to the king's attorney; to arrest rioters, persons guilty of assault and battery, and thieves taken with mainour. They also were employed to summon the parties, or convey them to jail, when so ordered. They were appointed by the courts. They wore uniforms and arms.

		Livres.
Their pay was, independent of some perquisites and fines,	Inspectors, -	3,000 per ann.
	Exempts, -	1,500
	Brigadiers, -	1,000
	Serjeants, -	800

Marshallsea was another Corps, much of the same description, formed in aid of public justice, and serving on foot and on horseback. It was under the authority both of government and of the courts, which was indeed productive of some disputes.

It was composed of brigades of five men, and a brigadier; an exempt, with the rank of lieutenant in the army, had the command of two brigades. A provost lieutenant, with the rank of captain, had the superior command in the whole department. A provost general, with the rank of major, but without pay, was only an honorary commander or inspector, and he had no functions relating to citizens. The brigades were stationed, less or more in number, in the towns and in some parishes.

Their functions were to watch over the general tranquillity and safety of the roads; to arrest malefactors, and negroes wandering without passports from their masters; to assist either in bringing the persons indicted to justice, or in the execution of civil and criminal judgments; lastly, to enforce the collection

lection of all direct taxes, and the execution of any warrants and orders from government or administration.

		Livres.
Their pay was,	Provost lieutenant,	2,000 per an.
	Exempts, -	1,200
	Brigadiers, -	900
	Privates, -	600

They had also some perquisites, and were supplied with horses and cloathing.

The difficulty of composing properly these two corps (partly proceeding from the scantiness of their pay) was sensibly felt, but unavoidable in a country where every kind of honest industry enabled a common person to make considerable gain.

Such was the whole judicial system, before the year eighty-seven.

34-
Actions.

I now proceed to give a summary view of remedies against public or private injuries; and first of the latter.

Some were admitted by the operation of law, as *retainer* and *remitter*; some by the act of parties, as *accords* and *arbitrations*. But *recaption* and *abatement of nuisance* were scarcely tolerated, from fear of violence.

Distresses and *replevins* were unknown. Only cattle trespassing, or *damage feasant*, were taken and carried to the public pound. A prize-money or forfeit was paid, though there were no damage: if there was damage, an action was open.

Government could not interfere in remedies of injuries, farther than in case of any trespass, nuisance, waste, or violent ejectment. The commanding officer was, then, bound to cause things to be re-instated, as far as possible, in their former order, and to direct the parties to sue for remedy in court.

For

For every injury there was certainly a remedy; but our actions were neither so multiplied, nor so precise and nicely discriminated, as in England.

Our actions were only divided into

Real actions, where the object was possession or property of land. These were again divided into *possessory* and *petitory* actions; and, where the plaintiff was *ousted*, the defendant or ejector could not bring his petitory action (writ of right), till the prior action was decided, and satisfaction made. *Spoliatus ante omnia restituendus*.

Personal actions were actions of debt, actions for damages, for specific satisfaction, and the like.

Lastly, *mixed* actions were, where possession and damages were sued for, and in other similar cases. Some actions might be indirect, as action hypothecary against the purchaser of an estate.

Actions were liable to limitations of time, the longest of which was forty years, when personal and hypothecary actions were joined against the same person, namely an heir to a real estate of the obligee. I have observed, that heirs and successors were liable to debts, though not expressed in the obligation, but of right. *Gerunt personam defuncti*.

It seems that, as the English common law has complicated the actions, and yet discriminated them with great nicety, it has been necessary that the clerks of chancery should exert all their skill to find different *formulas* or writs appropriated to every one: but it seems also, that the task exceeded their ingenuity; as we see, on the one hand, that certain actions are employed in cases to which they do not naturally belong, as *trover* and *conversion* instead of *retinue*, and *ejectment* instead of a *writ of right*; and, on the other hand, that the multiplicity of their writs being still inadequate to all cases, very extraordinary fictions have been introduced, and *the writ of trespass on the case* has been contrived, as a general sup-

35.
Original
Writs.

supplement, to which sometimes a *per quod* is annexed.

Our system, on the contrary, was at once plain, free from fictions, adequate to all possible cases, and seemed to resemble exactly the actions *on the case*.

Writs of chancery were necessary in very few instances; which have been or will be hinted at occasionally (*a*).

In all cases, a petition was given to the judge by the plaintiff, *stating the case*, and suing for *such* and *such* remedy, as possession, property, payment, specifick restitution, performance of any obligation or *damages*: and it is observable that, whereas, in many of the English actions, damages are the only remedy, though a more direct one might be given; *here*, damages were only given, either where no other remedy was attainable, or when a *per quod* was *collaterally* proved; as, when the plaintiff had suffered from ejectment, or non-performance of the contract: then, he obtained the principal satisfaction, as also damages; of which however the courts were very sparing.

Upon the petition, the judge gave his warrant, that the defendant be summoned before him at a certain day.

36. Process.

The complication of Process, the hardships of bails below and above, of distresses, attachments, *capias*, *alias*, *plurias*, and outlawries, were unknown and quite useless in our laws.

I cannot also help observing, that the liberty of the subject, which is so well guarded in the British constitution against prerogative, seems to be much trifled with by the common law; whereas, in France, the laws seemed to have shewn personal liberty the greatest tenderness, perhaps in amends

(*a*) The councils superior were authorized to grant these writs, instead of the chancery.

for its being more open to arbitrary stretches of power. This instance and some others will illustrate this observation.

The defendant was summoned, in writing, by a bailiff, and a copy of the petition and warrant was given to him, or left at his house.

If he, or his attorney, did not appear on the day, default was given, with a continuance; and, then, if again he did not appear, judgment was given, if the action appeared well grounded. The sentence was notified; and, eight days after, execution might be made of the defendant's property, and even he might be arrested, in proper cases.

But, during these eight days, the defendant might put in his *opposition*, by petition, against the judgment, which was then arrested of right. In that plain method, the danger of execution was quite as efficacious to force the appearance, as even the hardship of an outlawry.

In the inferior courts, writs of chancery were only necessary where a deed had been cancelled, for the following causes: incapacity, proceeding from age, coverture, imbecility, violence, captation, and the like; if a real estate was sold for less than half its value; if a copartner, or tenant in common, was wronged in a partition of the quarter or third of his share.

37. Writs
of Chan-
cery.

Those writs were termed letters of rescision; they directed the judge to give remedy, if the case was found to be truly stated. The formalities of petition, warrant, and process, were the same.

The cause, if not yet ready for determination, was *continued* from day to day; and, during this continuance, default or *nonsuit* might take place, but liable *once only* to opposition.

38.
Pleadings.

I suppose now that both parties were in earnest.

If the question was to be determined in public
audience,

audience, the counsellors were respectively heard in their pleadings and replies, till issue was joined, or the judges enabled to determine.

If the question depended on a complication of written evidence, as in disputes of land, or in accounts, the pleadings were reciprocally carried on in writing (defence, rejoinder, rebutter, &c.); and, then, one of the judges made the report of the question and proceedings, and the court, privately assembled, passed sentence.

Pleas were special, or general and absolute, declinatory (*a*), dilatory, or peremptory. Pleas declinatory must have been proposed *in limine litis*. Dilatory before the peremptory. If those were found grounded, the cause was dismissed to the competent judge, or the defendant released for the present; otherwise there was a *respondeat ouster*. I observe that the irregularities of *misnomer* or *departure* and *pluspetilio*, were little attended to. *Seofails* were of right. The party, before judgment, might *amend* his declaration, defence, and proceedings, as he pleased, though some *avowals* might become fatal.

The judgment might be interlocutory or final. In the first case a trial was usually necessary.

39. Trials. Interlocutory judgment was seldom necessary, when the *issue* was upon *demurrer*.

If it was of fact, the modes of trial were by written evidence, or by witnesses, (which dangerous method was much restricted). Agreements in writing were required upon every thing exceeding one hundred livres in value; and beyond it no oral evidence could be admitted of. Yet, in some instances of mere fact, where no writing could have been made, trial by witnesses was unavoidable; and,

(a) When the court had no cognizance *ratione materiae* or *ratione domicilii*. Seldom *ratione personae*, as there was no privilege or *commitimus*.

then,

(a)

then, two unequivocal were necessary. A commissary of the court was appointed for the trial, who recorded it; and the witnesses might be challenged *propter incapacitatem, propter affectum, aut propter delictum.*

The second method of trial was by inspection, as of surveyors of lands or roads, or of artificers, or other persons skilled in the object in question, who made their report upon oath.

The last mode of trial was by *wager of law*, almost always of the defendant.

In all questions concerning infants or wards, the church, the public, the absentees, or the king, the attorney of his majesty (*a*) must necessarily give his opinion, either verbally or in writing, before Judgment could be pronounced. 40. Judgments.

After the trial, or if no trial was necessary, because the issue was upon demurrer, judgment was given. It was written by the register upon his books, a copy was delivered to the party, who caused it to be notified to the other, who appealed; or if there was no appeal, execution was made, if satisfaction was not instantly tendered.

In the High Courts, the proceedings were the same, except that a writ of appeal was taken by the appellor, or a writ of anticipation by the appellee, in consequence of which the summons were notified. Here seven judges at least were necessary, and a plurality carried the determination. If the appellor was again condemned, he was fined in twelve livres to the king. The costs, in all actions, were adjudged to the party who was successful; but never double or treble costs. 41. In High Courts.

The methods of Execution of civil sentences were the following: 42. Execution.

(*a*) He might also be plaintiff or defendant *ex officio*.

Here

Here our laws were still tender of the personal liberty of the subject; for, so far from permitting a man to be arrested in execution of judgment, on the contrary, if he had bound his person or body for a debt, his bond was void in that respect, where the laws had not expressly authorized it. The cases specified were bills of exchange, debts due to the public by receivers on account of their trust, debts for leases taken in open court, when the clause was so specified in the record, debts due to sea trade by sentences of admiralty courts, which the creditor might also execute *non obstante appellatione*, giving security for it.

The other modes of execution were by seizure and sale of the debtor's goods, furniture, money, jewels, cloaths, cattle, and negroe servants (some effects being however privileged) and by arrest of his credits in the hands of his own debtors. The latter might also be provisionally permitted, by the original warrant, for rents, or where the title was authentic.

Real estates might also be executed and sold with the negroes and cattle upon them. But estates being of a very extensive and complicated nature, the formalities of the execution were very nice and intricate; the process, as being expensive and difficult, was seldom ever attempted. Here it must be owned, that our system seemed partial in favour of the planters. But the fault was rather ascribable to the nature of things, than to the laws; and, in spite of that, trade was at least as profitable as culture.

43. Arrest
of Judgment.

Judgments in the last resort were never suspended; but they could be reversed in two manners:

1st. By the court itself, after letters of chancery taken (*lettres de requete civile*) when a formality of the law had been violated.

2dly.

2dly. By the sovereign power of his majesty in his council (voye the cassation.)

In both instances, the intrinsic justice of the judgment was not considered. If it was reversed by the flaws appearing on the face of the record, another trial, either in the same court, or in another court, would determine the question. A time was limited. The execution of the judgment was not suspended; but an action for damages, with a *per quod*, might lie, after the final judgment.

In the first instance, if the civil request was rejected, the plaintiff paid a fine of four hundred and fifty livres to his majesty.

I shall make only some cursory remarks upon the prosecution, trial and judgment of indictments and presentments, where the British laws justly boast of a great superiority.

44. Pleas
of the
Crown.

The party aggrieved might indeed bring an indictment, but only for damages; and the punishment of the public wrong was sued for, only by the king's attorney and attorney-general.

In capital cases, the person accused, of whatever condition, might be arrested from the beginning; but, in indictments for misdemeanours, a vagabond could be committed in an abrupt manner; a citizen only after summons and non-appearance.

In capital cases, if the person accused absconded upon a *non est inventus*, a kind of outlawry took place, and his whole estate was sequestered. He was tried and judged by *contumacy*, and executed in *effigy*. But appearance reversed the whole trial and attainder, and another trial was granted of right.

The form and manner of the trial seemed shocking. It was secret. The prisoner was allowed no council. He was interrogated in private, sometimes too artfully. He had no copy of the proceedings and indictment. He was, indeed, *confronted* with the witnesses; but he must challenge them, and make

R

his

his defence *extempore*. He was seldom permitted to bring evidence of his own; and his oath of *voyr-dire* was exacted, though his life was at stake.

But every amends possible was made to him on the judgment. The *body of the crime* must be constant. His own confession could not condemn him. *Non auditur perire volens*. Suspicion set a witness aside. The smallest flaw in the proceedings made them void. Two witnesses, univocal, *de visu* and positive upon any overt act were necessary. The evidence was to be *luce meridiana clarior*. A great majority of the judges was necessary, and the appeal was of right.

The rack (question) had been suppressed by our good unhappy king Lewis XVI.

I shall throw a veil over the mode of execution, sometimes shocking and unbecoming the *then* character of the nation.

His majesty had the precious prerogative of granting pardon and reprieve.

Such was our whole judicial system, calculated for cheapness, expedition, and safety.

43. Alter-
ation in
1787.

In the year 1787, the minister was unfortunately betrayed into an inauspicious Alteration. He was disgusted at some instances of opposition, from the superior council of the Cape, against an exceptionable law. A crafty attorney-general of Port-au-Prince took advantage of that disposition, to increase his own jurisdiction and profits; and a law was extorted, by which the two councils superior were dissolved, and one established at Port-au-Prince, for the whole colony.

Independent of the former salaries, the judges and attorney-general were allowed large fees, *indirectly* paid by the parties. Public pleadings were suppressed; more expensive proceedings in writing were adopted, and the questions were tried and determined in private.

To

To lessen the inconveniences which were foreseen, the inferior courts were allowed a final jurisdiction in causes not exceeding nine thousand livres in value; and in judgments of life and limb against slaves. In consequence, three assistant judges were added to those courts, and were allowed both salaries and fees.

Severe consequences were felt by the colony in general. The public expence of salaries was greatly augmented. The parties were charged with fees hitherto unknown. The proceedings in writing were more expensive. Determinations were given in the dark, instead of being decided in fair open trials. Lastly, poor slaves were attainted for life, without the relief of an appeal.

But, besides those general inconveniences, the north, from its distance, felt others more bitterly. The hardship of going sixty or eighty leagues for justice, under a burning climate, and through a country little practicable; the danger of losing papers and titles of property, when sent by sea; or if by the post, with an expence so considerable, that I know of a single law-suit charged one thousand livres on that very account.

Besides, some alterations became indispensable in the management of the municipal duty, which were additional grievances, and an abridgment of the franchises of that part of the island.

Those innovations had a frightful effect. They offended the inhabitants of the north, and laid the seeds of discontent, which, in the beginning of the revolution, speedily broke out into an open revolt, long before the rest of the colony was disturbed. Thus, a foolish people having seized upon all the powers of government, employed their first attempt in breaking those new-fangled laws, and in re-establishing the superior council, a measure which (extravagant as it was in point of lawfulness) was confirmed

confirmed by both the national assembly and the king (12th October, 1790.)

To return to my subject: The salaries of the whole government, of the whole administration of the courts, of physicians, surgeons, and of all other civil officers, and the extraordinary expences relating to the same, were stated, in the public accounts, as follows:

		<i>Livres.</i>	
1786	- -	1,569,046	12 2
1787	- -	1,630,026	4 —
1788	- -	2,143,547	6 7
1789	- -	1,866,468	13 11
		<hr/>	
Total	-	7,209,088	17 8
		<hr/>	
Average	-	1,802,272	4 5
		<hr/>	

ART. IV. THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF INHABITANTS AND THE POPULATION.

The principal distinction of our population was into that of freemen and slaves; and, among the free, into that of white men, and people of colour.

1.
Whites.

Among the White, the only legal distinction known, proceeded from the offices which certain subjects filled in the government, administration, or in the courts. Except in the execution of the respective functions, and in occupying a marked place at church, such distinction was little felt in the usual intercourse of society. In a rich country, where fortune was the chief aim of every individual, wealth had more real weight than even places of trust and power.

On the other side, as it was a point of policy to render

render the white colour generally respectable, the common people of that description, though not upon a level with gentlemen, were still raised much above the rank they held in France, and were treated more upon a footing of equality.

Nobility (*a*) was not altogether unknown. Some few families had their titles registered in the records of the superior councils, which, however, could not be done without an express order from the minister, given after enquiry made, by the king's genealogist, into the genuineness of the titles; and, though titles are wantonly assumed by many creoles (a foolish fancy which seems rather to have increased since the revolution) yet no gentleman could qualify himself so much, as to assume the title of esquire, in public deeds, except the actual officers of government, unless his family titles were properly registered. Laws existed, prohibiting, under severe penalties, any indulgence upon this point to notaries, recorders, vicars, and other public officers; but, even after this, these registered families had not any privilege over the other subjects worth being taken notice of.

The planters, undoubtedly, bore the first rank; and this was graduated according to their fortune and establishments. The most wealthy, however, seldom lived upon their estates, rather choosing to spend their fortunes in the luxuries and pleasures which the capital offered them. Their estates were in the mean time managed by attornies, honest perhaps, but poor and interested; the consequence of which was, that the colonial interest in the country, as well as in the towns, was in the hands of persons, who minded it very much less than the care of their own fortunes. Public spirit thus gave place to egotism and selfishness; and the influence

(*a*) Nobility here does not signify *Peerage*, which, in England, is the usual meaning of the word *nobility*. The acceptation is more general.

of the rich planters, which might perhaps have opposed, in some measure, the progress or the effects of the revolution, was entirely lost.

In general, political writers think of nothing so much as of a great population in a country. In a colony like Saint Domingo, every individual, who is not necessary or serviceable to culture, is a *nuisance*; and, where the principal works can only be carried on by slaves, a great population of whites is by no means necessary. Honest merchants, tradesmen, and artificers, ought to be encouraged and considered as next to planters; but idle men, as affording bad examples, and teaching corruption, should not be suffered. The colonial system was, no doubt, too indulgent in this respect. Multitudes of vagabonds, scattered over the island, when the revolution broke out, deluged the towns. Gangs of rioters appeared in swarms, as if from under the ground. They menaced and overawed the honest well-meaning citizens, and combined for the destruction of government, order, and of course of the colony itself.

2. People
of Colour.

By People of Colour are understood slaves emancipated, the several degrees of their offspring free by birth, as negroes, mulattoes, carteroons, mongrels, &c.

This class of people has been remarked to encrease, with a degree of rapidity far exceeding that of any other kind of population in the West Indies. They have an advantage of native assimilation with climate, over European whites; and of a life of less labour, of better feeding, and of certain other moral causes over the slaves; add to which, that they are recruited yearly by the incontinence of the whites, and by new emancipations.

Such an intermediate class of people, enjoying liberty and the rights of citizens, connected with slaves by the ties of blood and familiarity, with the

the whites by the more feeble bonds of gratitude, ought to have been an object of particular attention with the legislature. The laws which determined their political condition, ought to have been framed upon a thorough knowledge of the best colonial system capable of existing. It might be expected that this system would be revealed to the people by experience, in process of time, and that opinions would conform to it, from the influence of interest, and of true political views; but, if those opinions are at variance with the laws, union, submission, and public order, must be in danger.

Our laws were defective in this point, for this reason, that they were framed at a period too early. The first, namely, the edict of Lewis the Fourteenth, enacted, in the year 1685, the black code, when the French colonies were still in the cradle; and the true colonial system, unrevealed by experience, was a general regulation of police for those new settlements. Among many other articles, it regulated the condition and usage of the slaves; the liberty or power of emancipating, and the state or condition of the individuals emancipated. It entitled such, and still more their offspring, to all the franchises and privileges of other citizens, binding them only to pay great respect to their old masters, and to the families of their masters. Many articles of the civil law were adopted. The faculty of emancipating was granted to the masters, in so absolute and unlimited a manner, that even minors under age were not excepted; further, a slave appointed executor of his master, or guardian of his children, was emancipated of right at the same time: but the master who emancipated a slave, was not bound to make a provision for maintenance. A slave taken in wedlock by a free person, with the master's consent, was emancipated of right,

right, and that privilege was extended to the bastards of any wench; as, by the French laws, bastards were legitimated *per subsequens matrimonium*. Though concubinage between the masters and their slaves was prohibited (a provision, the execution of which is, in a great measure, beyond the reach of the magistrate) the master was formally permitted to marry his slave; at the same time, the property which the emancipated slaves and people of colour might acquire, by any title, was not limited; and those born of the aforesaid connexions, might inherit all the estates of their fathers. The French laws, indeed, restricted the bequests made to bastards in general; but, as that restriction was not extended to conveyances *inter vivos*, and as strangers could bequeath any thing to bastards, the law was easily evaded, either directly by gifts, or indirectly by uses and trusts, and by deeds of sale. Thus, a master could emancipate all his negroes; he could marry his slave, and emancipate at once both her and her children, who became entitled to his inheritance. Any one could buy his concubine, and emancipate her and her offspring by wedlock.

However, the mark impressed by nature upon people of colour, and the political necessity of keeping them in a state of inferiority to the whites, which is universally adopted by all nations in their colonies, were felt and had their effect in the public opinion. At the same time, the numbers of emancipated slaves, and of the people of colour, multiplied at a prodigious rate. Their fortunes and their consequential pride ill-suited with inferiority of condition. Some of them educated in France, had acquired all the accomplishments which their natures, assisted with every means of expence, were capable of receiving, and had imbibed a sense of equality, in a free intercourse there with persons of rank. The necessity of amending the defects of a premature

premature law was felt, but a blind respect for the memory of its author, did not permit to annul it; and it was, perhaps, too late to strike the evil at the root.

The power of emancipating was abridged, upon the following principles: 1st. Emancipation was deemed to be the reward of honest service, not the salary of prostitution; the lot of faithful servants, not that of concubines and bastards. Besides, masters had only the right of giving up their property in the slave, but admission into the rank and privileges of citizens was a matter of prerogative, and the king's grant of liberty was necessary, as well as the master's manumission. 2dly. As to people of colour, the courts adopted, more strictly, the system of abridging the bequests made to bastards, in the limits of mere maintenance or annual alimony. 3dly. Several regulations, also, declared the people of colour unqualified for the military rank of officers, and for civil employments of power and trust. They were forbidden to take the surnames of the white families to which they had originally belonged; and they must, in their deeds and actions, assume the qualifications indicative of their degree of colour.

The first provision was easily evaded by the partiality of the fathers. Then the governor and intendant for the time being, (1776) fancied that a large discretionary tax laid upon the emancipations would be an effectual check; but it only served to shut the gate against poor honest servants, who could not afford the tax; but left it open to concubines and bastards, who wanted not the means to pay it. Nay, the tax and lawful emancipation were evaded by very shameful practices. Some vagabond was bribed to marry the wench, and to legitimate the bastards, and after wedlock was no more heard of. The second provision was but a very inadequate check to the wealth of people of colour,

colour. The last was more effectual; but it had a very bad effect. As the law of 1685 was never abolished, the people of colour always looked back to it. They considered all abridgments of the privileges granted by it, as an inconsistency and a grievance; and their dissatisfaction prepared them for that monstrous part which they have acted in the revolution.

Upon the whole, one cannot help observing, that the frame and constitution of our colonies must be delicate, when the mixture of our population, and the regard to their safety, beget political principles, and require positive laws, in direct contradiction to the passions and natural affections of men. This is perhaps a lurking seed of destruction, which cannot fail to germinate sooner or later, if all the wisdom of the legislator is not from the beginning, and without intermission, applied to keep it under. It is indisputable, that people of colour must be kept in a state of inferiority, with which great property is, here, more inconsistent than any where else. It may only be allowed, that it is by no means necessary or proper, that it be perpetual from generation to generation. When nature has washed out from their countenances all the marks of their origin, laws should then cease to distinguish, and they should be generally considered as whites, to all intents and purposes; a provision, the advantages of which would be as material as they are obvious.

I return to the system existing before 1789.

On the one hand, the people of colour were liable to no discrimination, for redress of private injuries, and in the prosecution of misdemeanours and crimes, for or against; and however natural it might be for judges to be prejudiced in favour of their own colour, they made no difference. On the other hand, people of colour were kept at great distance by planters and inhabitants of education;

but they were treated by them with indulgence and even civility. They were, in general, also themselves very seldom wanting either in respect towards persons of that description, or in obedience to government, and even in zeal for the public service; and being confined to mechanical trades, a great number became very useful by their industry and vigilance. If they suffered any ill usage, it was from the lowest class of whites, who, after entering into familiarity with them, and often living at their expence, were apt to claim their superiority, and to exert it with insolence, if any dispute happened. I shall mention again the people of colour, in the article concerning the militia.

The Slaves of all colours were the lowest class of our population. The laws allowed them no civil rights. Whatever they possessed was strictly their master's property, though the masters were, in that respect, more indulgent than the law. The redress of their injuries, was rather a right belonging to the masters than their own; but, in criminal indictments, they were tried exactly as the whites, chiefly before the laws of 1787, which I have mentioned.

3.
Slaves.

What I have said in the 4th chapter of this work, will make any further details on the usage they met from their masters unnecessary. However, some general observations may be taken notice of.

Much has been said against slavery in latter times; and great debates have been carried on by writers, upon the question, *whether negroes and slaves can or cannot be dispensed with, in our settlements in the West Indies?* I believe that the best reasonings, as well as local and historical knowledge, have ascertained the following points; and it may be boldly asserted, that the fatal trials made since the French revolution, set them beyond contradiction.

1st. The colonies are a source of wealth and of articles

articles of consumption, which the European powers and nations can no longer-dispense with.

2dly. The tropical climates are such, that no other men, than negroes, can bear the hardships of culture in those settlements.

3dly. The habitual and local wants of our negroes are so limited, the country affords them with such abundance and facility, their natural indolence is so great, that it is only in a state of slavery that any labour, or at least sufficient labour, may be exacted from them.

It has been imagined by some, that the plough might be employed in the culture of the sugar-cane with great advantage; and, ignorant of the nature of our estates, they have fancied that, by means of it, a number of hands, chiefly slaves, might be saved.

The use of the plough is known in our culture. It has been employed in sugar estates, usefully, in breaking stiff grounds, and in making the work of digging and planting more easy; and there is little doubt but, had it been capable of being carried further, it had been so; as our planters are by no means unskilful or unattentive in sparing hand labour: but canes require to be planted in wide deep holes, which the plough cannot make. The labour of weeding, (in a country where wild vegetation is exuberant) and the immense toil of the crops and manufacture, would still require the same number of hands; for then every other work is suspended.

Besides, writers have only considered the cultivation of the sugar-cane, without attending to the other cultures; though, in fact, as necessary, and more extensive and profitable. Yet after what I have said in this work, I have no need to prove that the service of the plough is impracticable in our mountains, and in our works, where the crops and

weedings

weedings require also speedy work and numerous hands.

Those points settled, it only remains to provide, that the usage of slaves be as humane as possible, without impairing their dependance and submission.

I am far from boasting of any superiority, in this respect, on the side of French planters. However, the Author of the Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations, (who here cannot be suspected of national partiality,) allows there is; and his remarks, upon the influence of different governments, are judicious. It is exactly true, that the power of the master lies here under the controul of the courts, and of the governor; and that express laws, even in latter times, had restricted it within proper bounds.

However, though presentments have been brought and prosecuted against masters, in very heinous instances, even so late as in 1787, that check was very seldom put in practice, lest submission should be impaired.

But more obvious and gentle causes had produced great effect. It is certain that, in early times, the usage was much harder. But as the principles of humanity have gained ground, as the planters have become more easy in their circumstances, as the market price of negroes has gradually risen to an excessive height, the condition of slaves has become more and more comfortable. Since that period, also, their service has been more hearty, the annual population has been increased. This was an additional encouragement to good usage; and, by degrees, things came to that situation which I have faithfully described; a situation, by far happier than the natural state of the negroes in their own country; a situation (I beg leave to add) in many respects

respects preferable to that of most of the poor peasants of Europe.

I have already observed, that the submission of our slaves, and the tranquillity of our island, were never disturbed, which was not the case in other colonies. I have also hinted at one essential cause of that difference, the form of our government exactly resembling the oeconomy of our estates. The uniting of humanity and steadiness in domestick discipline, with great strictness and rigour in publick police, was another cause of great effect. The great towns are, in general, sources and schools of corruption. If the magistrate is remiss and negligent, if drunkenness, mobs, riots, sauciness of negroes, are suffered in towns; while in plantations discipline is overstrained, and usage hard; even if they are steady, as they ought to be, submission and tranquillity must needs be precarious.

4. Population.

It remains (to make this article complete) to give an idea of the whole Population of the island, at different periods, and in its principal divisions, as far as it may be ascertained by the public returns.

Whites	-	{	1784	-	-	20,229
			1788	-	-	27,717
			1789	-	-	30,831

N. B. The troops, artillery, marshalsea, police corps, mariners belonging to French trade, coasters, and people who, having no negroes, gave no returns, were not included in the above number.

People of colour	{	1784	-	-	13,257
		1788	-	-	21,848
		1789	-	-	24,848

N. B. A still greater number, who had no property or negroes, are not included, no return being given.

Slaves

Slaves - - -	{	1784 - -	297,079
		1788 - -	405,528
		1789 - -	434,429

N. B. It must not be imagined, that this seeming great encrease of population was altogether real. Some planters had the indelicacy to screen a part of their negroes, and that cheat was, in a great measure, prevented by the vigilance and severity of M. De Marbois, the last intendant, a man of great capacity and zeal for the public good; so that it must be taken only that the last returns were more accurate, though not yet entirely so.

Upon the best probabilities, the population of the colony in the year 1789, may be supposed to have been about

1789. - - -	{	Whites - -	40,000
		People of colour -	32,000
		Slaves - -	500,000

Now the following is the comparative review of population, in the three great departments or divisions of the colony, after the returns.

1789. -	Whites—	West -	12,798	}	30,831.
		North -	11,996		
		South -	6,037		

1789. -	People of colour -	West -	12,962	}	24,848.
		North -	5,410		
		South -	6,476		

1789. -	Slaves—	West -	192,961	}	434,429.
		North -	164,656		
		South -	76,812		

N. B. The general population in the south was comparatively small. That of the people of colour was

was much less in the north. It is also certain, that these were individually richer in the west and south, than in the north.

ART. V.—REVENUE AND TAXES.

Among the revenues, there existed some which were merely contingencies of prerogative. Others were real taxes, either direct or indirect. Some of these were appropriated to the general expences of the colony, some to the private expences of the grand departments, and some only to the expences of a parish. Lastly, some public receipts were of a peculiar nature, neither revenue nor taxes, but only deposits for certain destined purposes. I shall more circumstantially explain this division of revenue, as stated in the colonial accounts, for the four years preceding the revolution; and first,

SECTION I.—*Prerogative Revenues.*

1. Demefne
Rights.

The rights of demefne were inherent in the prerogative of his majesty, either as king or as lord of the island. But he had most graciously resigned them to the use of the colony.

They consisted of estrays, fines, wrecks, treasures troves, forfeitures of attainder, escheats of inheritances of aliens (*a*); of intestate bastards, and of men absolutely without heirs, and also intestate.

A receiver was appointed by the intendant for five years, in each of the ten jurisdictions. He was accountable to the intendant; but he was also

(*a*) *Droit d'Aubaine.* In France, several treaties made with foreign nations had exempted them. But, when they had no colonies, that exemption was not extended to this island. Naturalization and legitimation were in the king's prerogative. Aliens naturalized could not strictly be agents for trade, but this was not much attended to in practice. Bastards were not legitimated to all intents and purposes, without the express consent of the lawful heirs of the father and mother.

sworn

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sworn in and bound to give proper securities for his receipts in the Kings courts.

The charges against the monies of demesne, were the debts and costs of escheated and forfeited inheritances, and other costs; the small commission or salary of the receiver; the maintenance of jails; the price of estrayed cattle or runaway negroes, claimed within the limited time by the owners, the same having been previously sold, at a limited time, at public auction in court; also several expences for the administration of justice, particularly as indictments, were prosecuted at the king's charge.

N. B. This receiver was intrusted with another receipt not very considerable, appropriated to keep in repair the houses where the courts sat. It was levied, at the rate of two per cent. upon the price of negroes, cattle, and other things sold at public auction, at the bar of the inferior courts.

	(a) Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
1786 }	560,358	0	2	526,053	3	9	34,340	16	5
1787 }									
1788	780,301	12	10	702,382	2	5	77,919	10	5
1789	808,364	6	7	766,115	9	11	42,248	16	8

I have already mentioned the tax laid upon emancipations. A single receiver for the whole colony was appointed by the intendant, to whom he was accountable, and bound to give security.

2. Emancipation Fund.

In the years	Slaves emancipated.				Taxes.	
	1785	-	-	534	-	Unknown.
	1786	-	-	365	-	£. 523,425
	1787	-	-	273	-	463,025
	1788	-	-	297	-	547,892
	1789	-	-	256	-	465,266
				1725		

(a) In this and in all the following receipts, the surpluses of the preceding years are included.

S

From

From this fund were paid the pensions allowed by government, for encouragement of population, of 1,200 livres a year to the white fathers of twelve living children, and of 1,000 livres to the people of colour; some gratuities and indemnities; some expences of public works, as fountains, &c. the botanical garden established at Port-au-Prince, &c.

	Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786 }	1,402,502	7	4	1,350,859	11	10	51,642	15	6
1787 }									
1788	654,908	10	8	654,249	9	2	3,659	1	6
1789	717,396	6	6	711,169	16	5	6,226	10	1

3. General Fund.

There was a single general stock of demefne, where a receiver was appointed by the intendant, and accountable to him, and where the following receipts were lodged:

- 1st. All the surplus of the preceding monies.
- 2dly. The rents of all the royal ferry boats, and of the principal shambles, when let to farm at public auction.
- 3dly. The rent of postage. The post office was farmed at home, and managed here, for the farmer's account, under the inspection of the intendant.
- 4thly. The rent of the playhouse at Port-au-Prince, belonging to his majesty. That at the Cape was the property of a private gentleman.
- 5thly. The proceeds from the sale of inheritances, managed by the public administrators, not claimed within five years; but the proceeds still claimable by the heirs at law, if there were any.

The expences were, some particular salaries, some public works, the proceeds of inheritances claimed by heirs, the expences of postage, of printing, of paper, books, quills, &c. for the offices of administration

nistration and government, and some casual advance to the several receivers of demesne.

	Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
1786 }	1,239,836	19	9	1,079,950	19	7	159,886	0	2
1787 }	1,171,293	0	7	1,131,658	1	11	39,634	18	8
1788 }	667,773	13	8	663,033	7	3	4,740	6	5
1789 }									

SECTION II.—*Deposites.*

I shall, in a more proper place, give the history of the foreign trade of St. Domingo. Some particular customs were levied upon it, for importations and exportations; and there was, in each of the three principal places, where foreigners were admitted, a receiver of the same, appointed by the intendant, and accountable to him, together with two commissioners of the superior council.

4. Foreign trade or entrepot Fund.

The expences of this fund were the salaries of different officers, employed at the office or custom house established for this purpose; and the surplus was remitted home, for certain premiums, for the encouragement of French importation of salted fish; so that this fund was only a deposit.

	Receipts.			Salaries.			Remittances.		
	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
1786	250,553	14	0	95,085	8	4	155,468	5	8
1787	291,178	1	5	99,323	12	6	191,854	8	11
1788	459,079	14	3	112,397	6	0	446,682	8	3
1789	576,715	9	6	177,698	10	8	459,016	18	10

When a master carried with him, or sent, a slave to France, he was bound to consign, into the hands of the treasurer of the marine fund, three thousand

5. Consignment Money.

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livres,

livres, as a security, forfeitable, if the slave did not return in a limited time. If he returned, the sum was reimbursed.

	Receipts.	Reimbursements.	Surplus
	L.	L.	L.
1786 }	153,000	70,500	82,500
1787 }	184,500	81,000	103,500
1788 }	256,500	100,000	156,500
1789 }			

6.
Invalids.

There was a stoppage of four deniers per livre, upon all military pay and salaries paid out of the marine fund (which I am going to mention) for the support of invalid foldiers and mariners in the king's service, and which was remitted home.

	Receipts.			Remittances.		
	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
1786	204,766	1	9	204,766	1	9
1787	211,041	1	4	211,041	1	4
1788	153,131	1	2	153,131	1	2
1789	175,103	14	3	175,103	14	3

7.
Seamen.

When any French trading ship was dismantled in the island, the wages due to the crew were settled, and deposited in the hands of the commissary charged with that department, to be sent home to the harbours the ships belonged to, where the payments were made.

	Receipts.			Remittances.		
	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
1788	430,972	9	11	430,972	9	11
1789	97,312	11	10	97,312	11	10

SECTION

SECTION III.—*Taxes of general Application.*

Now I proceed to explain the general taxes, either direct or indirect.

It was a leading principle, in the system of the French government, that the fiscal hand should not be heavy upon colonies of the nature of St. Domingo; that an exclusive trade, and the demand of home manufactures, a benefit of immense profit, were the only advantage which the mother country should derive from them; and that the only means of supporting that trade and those manufactures, were to encourage colonial culture, by all the means of indulgence and protection in the power of government. Upon this principle, the colony was not taxed farther than was strictly necessary for interior expence; and, even that these taxes should be less burthensome, the modes of assessment and collection were left at her own determination. Nay, extraordinary expence, or expence which was not strictly interior, as reinforcements of troops necessary in time of war, and the expences of the naval station, were at his majesty's charge, and paid by draughts or bills of exchange, drawn by the treasurer, with the intendant's approbation, upon the royal treasure. It was to make up that charge, sometimes very considerable, that a duty (*droit de domaine d'occident*) and an additional duty, amounting together to seven and a half per cent. were levied upon the produce of the colony entering into the mother kingdom; a tax, indeed, ultimately supported by the planter, but so indirect, that it was either not felt or not regarded.

8. Fiscal system.

The colonial tax was single, so that the system was as simple as it could be. It was called *octroi*, a word implying some kind of franchise, as it strictly means a *grant* made by the colony to his majesty, for the support of her own expences.

9. Octroi.

10. Its
Statement.

Every five years, the expenditures of St. Domingo were laid before his majesty by the intendant, and through the minister. A writ or *memoir*, calculated upon the general list of expences, was sent both to the intendant and to the governor, stating the tax desired by his majesty, and ordering them to convene the colonial assembly for the assessment, and to regulate the mode of collection after their own manner.

11. Colo-
nial As-
sembly.

That assembly was not one of the democratical kind, which God forbid! nor elective, which would have been inconsistent with the form of our government. It was composed of persons who had a right to be members by their places; viz. the governor and intendant, the three commanders and commissaries in chief of the three grand departments, the two attornies generals, and two members of each of the superior councils, and lastly, the twelve chief or senior commanders of the militia of the parishes, who were also respectable planters. The recorder of one of the courts served as secretary of the assembly.

12.
Assessment.

The list of the general expences, the king's *memoir*, the returns of all the produce of the colony with the current prices, the returns of all the houses in the different towns, stating their annual rents, and several other pieces of information, were produced to the assembly, and, after due examination and free debates, the assessment and mode of collection were settled. An act was passed, which was proclaimed and recorded in the courts, as law; the execution was in the intendant's province.

13.
In 1776.

The last assembly was held in the year 1776. The tax desired by his majesty was *five millions currency*; and the following assessment was calculated (as it ought to be) to give a small overplus:

Clayed

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Clayed sugar muscovado	-	36	livres	per 1,000 Wgt.
Brown sugar	-	18	-	per D°
Coffee (a)	-	18	-	per D°
Indigo	-		10 fols	per pound.
Cotton	-		2 fols	2 den. per D°
Rum or tafia	-	6	livres	per hoghead.
D°	-	12	-	per pipe.
Melasses	-	3L.	15s.	per hoghead.
D°	-	7.	10s.	per pipe.
Raw leather	-	2	-	per hide.
Tanned D°	-	1	-	per half hide.

In all those articles, the law was indirect. It was direct in the following, as will be seen in the mode of collection.

The rents of houses in the towns $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.

The slave servants, or slave artificers, or those belonging to estates or manufactures, the products of which were not exportable, as gardens and provision grounds, lime, brick, and potter kilns, and the like, 3 dollars each

The principles upon which that assessment was made were, 14. Its Principles.

That no taxes should be laid upon importations because they really (though indirectly) affect the people, who, having no property, live from honest useful industry, a set of men who ought to be encouraged.

That, in the system admitted of, the tax bears only upon the true wealth, namely, the produce of land and property, and thus, is the most equal and proportionate. A land tax, for instance, or a tax upon the negroes, has not the same advantage. The difference of soil is so great, that an estate of double extent and number of negroes and cattle, and managed with the same skill, will often yield

(a) Cacao was not taken notice of. It pays as coffee. That produce is very inconsiderable.

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much

much less than another, with half the premises of the former; so that the ultimate criterion of fortune, and of possibility of bearing the public taxes, is the annual income.

That the collection, as will be seen, was the most easy and certain that could be devised.

Lastly, one part of the tax was direct indeed, *viz.* that upon the houses and negroes; but the greatest part was indirect. The planter, who did not disburse it, never minded it, and the merchant, who paid it, made his purchase so as to make the tax fall (as it ought to do) upon the planter, who sold the commodity.

That there was no assessment made, since the year 1776, may appear irregular; but it was considered that no better system could be contrived; and, as commodities increased, since that time, in quantities, the duty was found sufficient, though the expences were rather augmented, and no necessity of a new statement and assessment was felt. However, it must be owned, that though no alteration was necessary in the statement, yet new assessments, every five years, might have been proper, as the respective proportion of different commodities must have varied in a long period, and as a great number of houses had been built, which might have been rated much higher than their actual estimated rents. But, where the tax was at least equal to the wants, the possibility of enhancing it was little attended to.

15.
Collection.

There was a receiver of those duties in each of the ten jurisdictions, appointed for five years by the superior councils, upon oath, and with proper securities. They were accountable to the intendant, with two members of the court delegated by it.

The method of raising the duties was easy and plain.

That

That upon produce was paid at the embarkation. The master of the ship produced his bill of lading, at the bottom of which the receiver acquitted the duty. At home, the bill and cargo were strictly verified (on account of the occident demefne duty) and if any thing was found not discharged here, he paid the duty double for the fraud.

It must be observed, that when, in times of dearth, the foreign ships were permitted *pro tempore* to import flour and bread, and to export the chief colonial products, they were liable both to the duty of which I am now speaking, and to the occident demefne duty paid in France by national ships. Their bills of lading were verified by the searchers, and all these duties were paid into the hands of the receivers of octroi.

As to the duty upon houses; previous to the assembly, a roll was made by commissioners of the superior councils, wherein all the houses and the rents were stated, either by the inspection of the leases, or by estimates. A copy of the roll was delivered to the receiver, that he might collect the duty agreeably thereto.

As to the negroes; I have already mentioned the annual returns which all the inhabitants were bound to give of their properties (a) and families, with certain formalities and precautions. A copy also of the general recapitulation of those returns was given to the receiver, that he might collect the duty upon such negroes as were liable to it.

Upon proclamation, the inhabitants were obliged to go and pay the direct duties at the receiver's office in a limited time; and those who did not were compelled by the authority of the superior council, under stated penalties.

(a) See also the article concerning the militia, Art. 9. No. 3.

APPENDIX.

Here a remarkable proof of the economy of our *then* administration may be produced. The whole amount of the salaries of the ten receivers was 34,200 livres; but they were allowed a small gratuity from each ship discharged, from four to eight dollars, in proportion of the tonnage.

The whole duty of exportations amounted, in

			L.	S.	D.
1786,	-	-	6,018,556	0	0
1787,	-	-	6,313,469	16	4
1788,	-	-	6,924,167	19	11
1789,	-	-	6,340,743	6	10

Total, 25,596,937 3 1

Average, 6,399,234 5 9

The *annual* duty upon the houses and negroes cannot be ascertained with the same precision, as the collection was not so punctual. The following are the receipts made upon the current and the preceding years:

			L.	S.	D.
1786,	-	-	296,137	8	3
1787,	-	-	344,525	15	10
1788,	-	-	957,178	5	8
1789,	-	-	478,532	13	4

Total, 2,076,474 3 1

Average, 519,118 10 9

			L.	S.	D.
Average	{	Exportations,	6,399,234	5	9
of octroi.	{	Houses and negroes,	519,118	10	5

Total, 6,918,352 16 6

Here

Here there was no expence, but the small salary of the receivers.

However accurate the preceding statements are, I must not omit to mention, that there is, in the hands of the present British commissary general, a return (given him, by whom I do not know), which states the taxes upon exportations, in 1788, at 7,781,641 l. 11 sols. 2 d.; but I am satisfied it is not correct. As to exportations it must, however, be understood, that, in spite of every attention and vigilance, some produce was smuggled out, without paying the duty, chiefly by the Americans.

The general money of octroi was lodged, by all the receivers, in the marine fund, that is, in the hands of an agent of the general treasurers of his majesty's navy. This person was appointed by them, and had a deputy in each of the two other grand departments, the Cape and the Cayes, accountable to him. This treasurer was accountable to the intendant, and to the general treasurers, liable to the revifal of the exchequer (chambre des comptes) at home.

16. Marine Fund.

Funds lodged in that Depot.

Ordinary receipts : all the octroi duties collected by the receivers.

Extraordinary receipts : arrears and debts due to his majesty, rents of his houses, sales made in the king's stores of things damaged, stoppages of pay to soldiers while they were at the hospitals, stoppages for the invalids, &c.

Lastly, the money proceeding from bills of exchange

APPENDIX:

change drawn upon the treasurers general of the navy, which were,

			L.	S.	D.
1787,	-	-	1,314,670	18	8
1788,	-	-	1,053,105	10	4
1789,	-	-	1,829,907	3	1

Expences.

Ordinary: of fortifications, buildings and repairs; of purchases of different kinds; of salaries of military, administrative, judicial, civil, and other officers; of pay, maintenance, rations, cloathing, hospital, and other expences relating to the troops, and the like.

Extraordinary: gratuities, indemnities, and charities; hire of houses, barracks, lodgings, expences of offices; the naval station; reinforcements of troops in time of war, and the like.

The general receipts, the former surplus included, and the expences, both ordinary and extraordinary, were,

General Receipts.			General Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S. D.		L.	S. D.		L.	S. D.
1786 -	9,228,398	4 7	9,075,403	11 5		152,994	13 2	
1787 -	9,310,439	18 5	8,528,273	13 0		935,160	5 5	
1788 -	10,838,351	0 4	9,448,188	4 0		1,390,162	16 4	
1789 -	12,316,842	13 4	10,827,259	12 6		1,489,583	0 10	

It must be observed, that the amount of the receipts, in these four years, exceeded much the taxes and usual revenue. But this consisted partly of arrears accumulated by the neglect of former intendants, and collected by the uncommon skill and vigilance of M. de Marbois, the last intendant, who was thus enabled to make several establishments of great

ARTICLE V.

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great service, convenience, and embellishment, as public roads, bridges, fountains, keys, &c.

The following is the General Recapitulation of all receipts, expences, and surpluses, of the different funds. ^{17.} General Recapitulation.

	Receipts.			Expences.			Surpluses.		
1786—1787.	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.	L.	s.	D.
Marine Fund, -	18,538,837	9	10	17,603,677	4	5	935,160	5	5
General D ^o -	1,239,836	19	9	1,079,950	19	7	159,886	0	2
Emancipation D ^o -	1,402,502	7	4	1,350,859	11	10	51,642	15	6
Domain D ^o -	560,358	0	2	526,053	3	9	34,304	16	5
	21,741,834	17	1	20,560,540	19	7	1,180,993	17	6
1788.									
Marine Fund, -	10,838,351	0	4	9,448,188	4	0	1,390,162	16	4
General D ^o -	1,171,293	0	7	1,131,658	1	11	39,634	18	8
Emancipation D ^o -	654,908	10	8	651,249	9	2	3,659	1	6
Domain D ^o -	780,301	12	10	702,382	2	5	77,919	10	5
	13,444,854	4	5	11,933,477	17	6	1,511,376	6	11
1789.									
Marine Fund, -	12,316,842	13	4	10,827,259	12	6	1,489,538	0	10
General D ^o -	667,773	13	8	663,033	7	3	4,740	6	5
Emancipation D ^o -	717,396	6	6	714,169	16	5	6,226	10	1
Domain D ^o -	808,364	6	7	766,115	9	11	42,248	16	8
	14,510,377	0	1	12,967,578	6	1	1,542,798	14	0

N. B. Foreign trade, consignment, invalid and mariners funds, are not mentioned, as being only deposites, with particular destinations.

SECT. 4.—*Taxes of particular Application.*

I now proceed to mention the taxes of a particular application; and first, those applied to the interior expences of each grand department, under the ^{18.} Municipal Duty.

the name of *municipal duty*. Here the administration was entirely in the hands of the respective superior councils, in consequence of their ancient privileges.

They appointed a receiver for the whole division, for five years, with proper securities, and they took his oath of good conduct. The receiver was exclusively accountable to the court.

This was a tax laid upon all the slaves in general, and the court rated it, now and then, according to the exigencies. It never was under twenty sols, and seldom above thirty sols, per head. As the accounts of that administration were never published, the whole amount of the tax may only be ascertained by the population of the negroes, stated in the fourth article, No. 4.

The expences were, the marshalsea and police corps; an indemnity of 1200 l. paid to masters, for their slaves attainted of felony; the salaries of the agent and two secretaries of the boards of agriculture; and some expences of the superior councils, as a chaplain, a keeper, &c.

I shall mention the mode of collection immediately.

19. Parish
Taxes.

Parish taxes were of a nature and application still more limited, *viz.* for the maintenance of the vicar, the ordinary repairs of the church, churchyard, and vicar house, the small charges of divine worship. They consisted also of a poll tax upon negroes, rated and assessed by the assembly of the freeholders (at least thirteen in number), and levied by the church warden, assisted with the authority of the courts. The church warden was accountable to his successor, and to some commissioners of the parish, liable to the revial and compulsion of the king's attorney.

When any extraordinary expence was resolved upon, as building a church or vicar house, expensive repairs of both, or some other parish expences (suppose

pose a bridge), the determination of the meeting could not be executed, before it was approved, after due examination, by the governor and intendant, and their warrant duly registered in court.

For the sake of economy, while the church warden collected the parish taxes, he also raised the municipal duty, for which he was accountable to the receiver.

In the alteration made in the judicial system in 1787, the government united these two taxes, which were rated together at 3*l.* per each negro. The *then* single superior council of St. Domingo had the management of both. The salaries of the vicars were fixed with scandalous niggardliness, as well as the expences of worship. Thus, the freeholders were deprived of the direction of their own private affairs. However, the church wardens were still charged with the collection, and obliged to account at Port au Prince, from the most distant parishes. A commission, indeed, was allowed them, which they, in general, refused with scorn; and this innovation, and breach of privilege, was a further ground of disgust.

Thus, I have explained all the taxes paid by the inhabitants, or rather by the men of property, in St. Domingo. How light they were, will appear from the account I am going to give of the produce of the principal cultures of the colony.

ART. VI. CULTURE AND PRODUCE.

The French part of St. Domingo is comprehended between 18° 3', and 19° 57' of north latitude, and between 71° 45', and 74° 26' of west longitude, from the meridian of London. Its figure is very irregular, being deeply indented by the great bay of Port-au-Prince, between Cape Nicholas Mole and Cape Donamaria.

1. Extent
of the colony.

The

The division of the west is about 108 miles in length, from Gros Morne to Eayes Jacmel, and 94 miles in average breadth.

The north, about 153 miles in length, from the river Capotilla to the end of Cape Nicholas, and 72 miles in average breadth.

The south, about 156 miles in length, from Jacmel to Irish point, and 48 miles in average breadth.

Thus, the surface of the		
west may be	- -	10,162 square miles.
That of the north	- -	11,016
That of the south	- -	7,488
		<hr/>
In all	- -	28,666
		<hr/>

^{2.}
Climate.

In this great extent, the climate is variable. Upon the coast of the sea it is exceedingly hot. The heat would be intolerable were it not moderated by refreshing breezes, which blow from the sea during the day, and from the land during the night. In ascending into the country, the coolness increases, and in the highest mountains, the climate is not only temperate but even extremely cool.

Every where rain is more common on the mountains, than on the champaign country; but there is a variety. In the north rain is frequent in all the seasons of the year. In the west and south, there is seldom rain in winter, because what they call *north rains* are not known, the *storm rains* being the only rains of these districts. However the district of Jeremy must be excepted. The storm rains seem to be formed by the vapours attracted by the sun and condensed over the high lands of St. Domingo. The north rains seem to come from the main land and Florida, along the Bahamas and the island of Cuba, by means of winds blowing from north west, and reach

reach only the parts of St. Domingo lying more west and north.

In regard to healthiness, it is remarked that the sea coasts are very unhealthy, but that this noxious influence diminishes in proportion as progress is made into the interior. The mountains are very healthy, and still more so in proportion of their elevation.

The mountains, in general, possess a great number of springs, and more or less considerable streams of water (a); which of course form rivers in the plains below. In the north, these rivers are usually employed to turn mills, as the practice of artificial watering is not necessary, rains being never wanting, except in the plain of Fort Dolphin in the east. In the rest of the island, watering is indispensable, at least in the six dry months, and it was employed with great skill. The distribution of waters in *Cûl de Sac*, near Port-au-Prince, is a work which might do honour to the richest kingdom of Europe. But none of our rivers can be termed navigable, and can hardly be of any service for commerce and carriage; they rather spoil the harbours, into which they fall, by the sand and mud brought by the current.

3.
Waters.

There is quite as much variety in the quality of the soil as in the state of heat and health. The soil is much better on the high than in the low mountains. The richest plains are those which are tra-

4- Lands
and cul-
tures.

(a) The mountains of Caymites and New Plymouth, in the district of Jeremy; and perhaps some others, are an exception. They are excavated, and those excavations drain the waters. Even in the valleys, large openings are found, where the rain waters and torrents are in a manner swallowed up, and conveyed to the sea under the ground. The island is liable to violent earthquakes, chiefly in the west; the south to hurricanes, less felt in the west, and almost unknown in the north. Sometimes hail has been found to fall in the mountains. No noxious insect or reptile is known in the island, except centipees, scorpions, and spiders, which are so only in a small degree.

T

versed

versed by the more considerable rivers, because the overflowings have deposited a greater proportion of slime or mould, and all the plains seem to be originally formed from the deposition of mud. All the estates, immediately watered by rivers, are defended against the overflowings by large causeys, also a beautiful and very expensive kind of work; and even the overflowings are very skilfully employed, by means of sluices made in the causeys, to raise the low grounds, and to improve those which are open to the water of the sea, by the addition of mud and slime carried by the rivers.

The mountains are generally cultivated in coffee, and the level grounds in sugar, cotton, and indigo, as well as the little adjoining hills. The first culture, in early times, seems to have been tobacco and *rocow*, a kind of purple dye. Ginger and pimento, though not unknown, have never been attended to. Cacao was cultivated for a time, in some districts, but it seems, at present, almost entirely abandoned. The returns that follow will give a distinct idea of all the present cultures, and of their proportions, in the different parts of the island.

It will be observed that, in the north, the manufacture of clayed sugar is more extensive than in the south and west; that the south and west yield more indigo and cotton than the north. The south has already been observed to have a smaller population than the rest of the island, in proportion to its extent. Its produce, in general, will be found to observe the rule of its population. It is likely that the quality of the ground may be one reason of this; but another more satisfactory may be found in its remote situation to leeward. The other parts of the colony being more convenient resorts for commerce, the south has been in a great measure neglected by traders, though premiums have been granted for the importation of negroes into that department.

The

The principal plains, where sugar was cultivated with success, are those of *Cul de Sac*, near Port-au-Prince, including Croix des Bouquets, Boucassin, Arcahay, Vases, and Montrouis.

The plain of the Cayes is also considerable.

The lesser plain of Leogane.

The plain of the north is immense, from Port Margo to Maribaroux; about sixty miles in length and twelve in average breadth. In some places the soil is of the best quality, as in Limonade, Quartier Morin, Jacquesy, Maribaroux, and Bassimbé.

In other places, some small plains are found; where three or four sugar estates are established, as Port Depaix, St. Lewis in the north; Jeremy, and others.

The plains of Gonaives, Jean Rabel, Gros Morne; and others; if capable of being watered, would be very fit for sugar, and some successful attempts have been made; but the culture there was generally cotton and indigo.

The largest, and perhaps the finest of all the plains, is the plain of Artibonite, near St. Marks. If the river, which divides the plain, could be usefully employed, it is probable that the produce of sugar (already pretty considerable) in this tract might much exceed that of the whole colony; but the current is so rapid, the overflowings so sudden and so vast, that the expence, and perhaps an idea of the danger of carrying it above the level, have prevented the execution of several schemes that have been presented.

Indigo exhausts the ground in a short time; it is liable, as well as cotton, to suffer great injury from seasons; from worms, and caterpillars. Coffee and sugar are products more safe and more regular in returns; but coffee grounds last only for a certain time. Coffee estates are actually more productive

and less expensive than sugar plantations; but as the canes are generally planted in plains, where the mould is never washed away, and as the leaves, which incessantly fall and rot upon the ground, are a good manure, the use and preservation of which has been skilfully understood and managed in latter times, and to which other manures may be conveniently added, that culture is the most lasting, and in every view the most desirable.

Almost all the plains are now without timber or wood, even for shingles and staves. Some even have no other fuel than the cane trash, which has passed through the mill. The virgin grounds, in the mountains, are still furnished with the best sort of wood, of various kinds, but it can seldom be carried down to the plains. These are supplied with that commodity from America, Louisiana, the Spanish part of the island, and from the small islands depending on the colony, of which I am going to speak.

Lime-stone, sand, and common stone, fit for building, abound almost every where.

5.
Mines.

The history of St. Domingo mentions mines of gold, silver, and copper, chiefly in the Spanish part of the island. The opinion is entertained by many, that some actually exist in the French part; but happily, neither government nor the colonists ever paid any attention to this fallacious source of riches. They have found more profit in the cultivation of the surface, than they could ever attain by painfully digging into the bowels of the earth.

6.
Islands.

The islands depending on St. Domingo, are
In the north, and opposite to Port Depaix, *Tortuga*, about twenty-four miles in length, and five in breadth. Indigo is cultivated there with success. Coffee does not answer so well, for want of rain in summer.

Gonava, in the vast bay of the west, about forty-five miles in length, and sixteen in average breadth. As there is water only in one place, and even there very scanty, no culture has been attempted; but it affords (as well as Tortuga) a great quantity and variety of excellent timber and wood, as mahogany, cedar, gayae, &c. Caymites are small islands opposite to Jeremy.

Lastly, *Isleavache*, in the south, much less than Tortuga, where indigo and cotton are cultivated with tolerable success.

St. Domingo has some manufactures, as distilleries of rum (inferior to Jamaica rum) tanneries, brick and lime kilns, potteries; some lands for breeding of cattle, but not sufficient for the service and consumption of the island; lastly, about the towns, it has small estates, from which greens and vegetables of all sorts, milk, butter, fruits, grass, fuel, and coals, are supplied.

Very few lands remain in the possession of his majesty, and these in the most inaccessible mountains, or in the most barren places, as the whole island of *Gonava*.

After these previous remarks, I shall state the number and situation of the different principal estates in St. Domingo, in 1789, as follows:

APPENDIX.

7. GENERAL LIST of the Estates and Manufactures

				SUGAR ESTATES.		Coffee and Cocoa.
				Clayed.	Brown.	
West —	{	Port-au-Prince —	—	77	126	276
		Saint Marc —	—	21	23	368
		Leogane —	—	27	40	64
		Petit Goave —	—	17	28	70
North —	{	The Cape —	—	141	19	1,357
		Fort Dolphin —	—	111	8	381
		Port Depaix —	—	6	3	229
		Mole St. Nicolas —	—	—	—	42
South —	{	The Cayes —	—	26	85	77
		St. Louis —	—	10	23	43
		Cape Tiburon and Coteaux —	—	2	1	26
		Jacmel —	—	—	1	68
		Jeremie —	—	3	5	118
				431	362	3,117

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ARTICLE VI.

81

in the Colony of St. Domingo, in the Year 1789.

Cotton.	Indigo.	Tanneries.	Rum.	Cacao.	Lime Kilns.	Potteries.	Brick Kilns.
74	496	—	45	3	54	6	1
327	1,189	—	12	1	73	4	10
20	79	—	27	—	15	—	1
36	243	—	19	3	20	—	1
16	17	3	28	6	73	5	9
5	47	—	14	—	7	5	7
29	369	3	4	2	26	2	4
16	10	—	—	—	19	—	—
81	183	—	19	2	33	6	3
30	263	—	8	2	19	1	—
14	172	—	—	5	8	1	—
109	137	—	—	3	8	—	1
32	45	—	6	27	15	—	—
789	3,150	6	182	54	370	29	37

The progress of culture and industry appears from the comparative returns of 1788 and 1789. In that period of one year,

Sugar estate settled	—	—	—	1
Estates improved from brown to clayed sugar	—	—	—	20
Coffee estates settled	—	—	—	307
Indigo ditto	—	—	—	53
Cotton ditto	—	—	—	84
Tan houses ditto	—	—	—	3
Lime Kilns ditto	—	—	—	57
Potter works ditto	—	—	—	1
Brick kilns ditto	—	—	—	4

There is no particular mention of the other kinds of estates, which I have mentioned at the end of the previous remarks.

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I shall

APPENDIX.

I shall now enumerate the exportable produce, as accurately as smuggling and false return of exporters will permit, from the year 1786 to 1789. Interior consumption is not taken into the account.

Clayed sugar (a)		1786 -	71,063,967 Pds.		
		1787 -	58,182,676		
		1788 -	70,227,709		
		1789 -	47,516,531		
			<hr/>		
			246,990,883		
Average produce			—	—	61,747,720 P. 12 O.
Brown ditto -		1786 -	61,887,814		
		1787 -	71,898,676		
		1788 -	93,177,515		
		1789 -	93,573,300		
			<hr/>		
			320,437,302		
Average produce			—	—	80,109,325 8
Coffee - -		1786 -	52,180,311		
		1787 -	70,003,161		
		1788 -	68,151,181		
		1789 -	76,835,219		
			<hr/>		
			267,169,872		
Average produce			—	—	66,792,468
Cotton - -		1786 -	5,203,161		
		1787 -	6,806,174		
		1788 -	6,236,126		
		1789 -	7,004,274		
			<hr/>		
			25,299,735		
Average produce			—	—	6,324,933
Indigo - -		1786 -	1,103,907		
		1787 -	1,166,117		
		1788 -	930,016		
		1789 -	758,628		
			<hr/>		
			3,958,668		
Average produce			—	—	989,667

(a) Of many causes for the great difference of clayed sugar produced in these 4 years, no other can be satisfactory than the influence of the seasons in the districts where that manufacture was more general.

Raw

ARTICLE VI.

Raw leather	-	1786	-	-	3,462	hides.
		1787	-	-	3,931	
		1788	-	-	7,807	
		1789	-	-	9,080	

24,230

Average manufacture — — 6,070 $\frac{1}{2}$

Tanned ditto	1786	-	-	7,754	half hides.
	1787	-	-	6,903	
	1788	-	-	5,188	
	1789	-	-	11,446	

31,291

Average manufacture — — 7,822 $\frac{1}{2}$

Molasses	-	1786	-	-	21,855	pipes,
		1787	-	-	25,246	
		1788	-	-	29,503	
		1789	-	-	25,794	

102,398

Average exportation — — 25,599 $\frac{1}{2}$

Rum	-	-	1786	-	-	4,265	hogheads.
			1787	-	-	4,450	
			1788	-	-	303	
			1789	-	-	598	

Average exportation — — 2,404

N. B. Some wood, as mahogany and others, some cassia, and tortoise shells, were annually exported, without paying any duty, which we find rated, for the year 1789, at — — 1,200,000 l.

It is observed that, as our rum was very little demanded abroad, far the greater quantity was consumed at home, and of course a vast quantity of molasses.

The proportion of the produce in the different districts is presented in the following return :

APPENDIX.

9. COMPARATIVE Return of

		Clayed Sugar.	Brown Ditto.	Coffee.
		P.	P.	P.
West	Port-au-Prince	2,497,321	44,716,226	17,829,424
	Saint Marc	3,065,047	7,931,710	7,041,852
	Leogane	895,871	7,079,205	1,932,952
	Petit Goave	27,090	655,187	807,865
North	The Cape	31,187,636	7,267,531	32,545,524
	Fort Dolphin	6,886,510	200,700	1,194,750
	Port Depaix	331,900	515,500	1,957,618
	Mole St. Nicolas	—	—	265,616
South	Cayes	2,597,666	24,586,050	3,025,604
	Cap Tiburon	100	377,800	600,002
	Saint Louis	—	—	120,665
	Jacmel	37,350	55,624	4,072,702
	Jeremie	1,420	247,760	5,440,646
		47,516,531	93,573,300	76,835,219

N. B. It will be observed, that some districts, sold no molasses, which can only be ascribed to

Produce, in the different Districts, 1789.

	Cotton.	Indigo.	Raw Leather.	Fanned Ditto.	Molasses.	Rum.
	P.	P.	H.	Hh.	Pipes.	Hgds.
424	1,878,999	137,951	2,643 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	5,626	—
852	3,250,890	349,819	278 $\frac{2}{3}$	1,710	—	272
952	139,887	4,960	60	600	25	4
865	50,053	210	27	—	44	—
524	269,240	245,117	3,600 $\frac{1}{8}$	7,481	10,908	—
750	3,200	1,710	1,513 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,080	1,651 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
618	35,154	29,181	298 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	193	20
616	26,861	2,823	37	—	92	—
604	855,447	169,305	—	—	—	—
002	13,672	1,088	—	—	65	—
665	19,253	5,761	—	—	—	—
702	460,832	10,045	84	—	—	—
646	54,786	598	121	176	—	—
519	7,004,274	758,628	9,080 $\frac{1}{8}$	11,446	25,749	598

which made great quantities of sugar, appear to have smuggling.

Such

Such was the state of our culture and produce, or rather of our declared exportations, in 1789. The dollars were another object of exportation, when the commodities went high. The rents of houses, the produce in cattle, manufactures, and different small concerns cannot be ascertained, and were considerable.

Now the average of produce stated above, may be estimated at the following rates, which have been the average market prices in the four years. The fractions will be neglected.

				Livres currency.
W. Sugar,	61,747,720 P.	at 70 l. per Hh.		43,223,404 l.
B. Sugar,	80,109,325	at 40 l. Ditto	-	32,043,730
Coffee -	66,792,468	at 1 l. 5 s. a P.		83,490,585
Cotton -	6,324,933	at 200 l. per Hd.		12,649,866
Indigo -	989,667	at 10 l. per P.		9,896,670
R. Leather,	6,070 H.	at 20 l. per Hh.		121,400
T. Leather,	7,822 Hh.	at 20 l. per Hh.		156,440
Molasses,	25,599 P.	at 300 l. per Pipe.		7,679,700
Rum - -	2 404	at 180 l. per Hh.		432,720
Wood, cassia, tortoiseshel	—	—	—	1,200,000
				<hr/>
				189,894,515

Now an addition may fairly be made of a tenth more, for smuggling and for interior consumption

—	—	—	18,989,451
			<hr/>
Value of all exportations	—	—	208,883,966
			<hr/> <hr/>

ART. VII. COMMERCE.

Paragraph I. *French Trade.*

¹ French Trade.

From the above, the commerce and navigation of the colony might be supposed to be considerable; yet,

yet, I must observe, that as the public investigation was only directed towards the statement of the revenue and of its expenditures, the information here cannot be expected to be so accurate as in the produce. However, from the hints found in the public accounts, and from the authorities which I have collected, I am enabled to state pretty exactly what relates to commerce, and first to that of the mother country.

The trade of the colony was open to all the merchants established in all the ports of the kingdom, without restriction, the principal of which were Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Rochelle, St. Malo, Bayonne, Nantz, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace.

The merchants, in our colonial ports, were in general agents of the trade of France and of the planters. They seldom undertook affairs on their own bottom. But their business was the more safe and profitable on this account, and it must be allowed that many of them were very honest and very serviceable to the planters. A kind of bourse (chambre de commerce) was settled at the Cape, by patent.

The jealousies and mutual complaints of the planters and of the traders had no end. The former lamented the price of importations, and chiefly of negroes, continually increasing. The latter exclaimed against the debts due by the colony, which they pretended to be little short of one hundred millions. The truth of it is, that both were equally wrong.

On the one side, the increase of the price of commodities was the effect of the demand and consumption, enhanced in the gradual proportion of a larger population, of a more extensive culture, of an increase also of colonial produce, both in quantity and in price; and of course, of a greater prosperity. Besides, it could not be denied, that however rich
the

the soil was, however active and industrious the planters might be, it was only by the advances of trade that the colony had been settled and carried to that state of prosperity which it enjoyed in 1789.

On the other side, the debts were much reduced, in the last twenty years, and would have been still more so, if the revolution had not destroyed the colony. Besides, after a long and vast train of business, debts due to trade, sometimes from the profusion and indelicacy of planters, but more often from unavoidable accidents and losses, had not prevented individuals from accumulating immense fortunes in almost every port of France, entirely resulting from traffic with the colony; and upon the whole, those debts which appeared to disgrace the colony, deserve to be considered in the light of rubbish, which indispensibly remains after building a vast and useful fabrick.

2.
Shipping.

The French ships which have sold their cargoes, in the different harbours of this island, were

		Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1787	—	532	172,900	13,300
1788	—	678	202,350	16,950
1789	—	577	184,525	14,425

3.
Negroes.

Of these the following were Guineamen, and the negroes imported by them were (a),

		Ships.	Negroes.
1787	—	110	30,839
1788	—	98	29,566
1789	—	99	27,212

N. B. A premium of 300 livres was granted by his majesty, for every negro imported into the south, as an encouragement for promoting the culture of that department.

(a) The negroes were sold on board the ships.

The

ARTICLE VII.

39

The importations were,

4. Importations.

1788. Eatable provisions, according to the current prices	—	—	Livres Currency.
			38,719,840
Dry goods	—	—	39,008,600
Sundry other articles	—	—	8,685,600
The negroes, at the average price of 2,090 l. 2 s. the premium granted in the south deducted			60,569,190
Total	—	—	146,973,230

1789. Eatable provisions	—	—	29,862,145
Dry goods	—	—	25,572,000
Sundry other articles	—	—	5,639,000
Negroes as above	—	—	58,070,884
Total	—	—	119,208,029

Importations, 1788	—	—	146,973,230
1789	—	—	119,208,029
Total	—	—	266,181,249

5. Balance.

Average proportion of importations 133,090,624 10 —

The exportations, as has been seen, amounted to the average rate of — 189,894,515 livres:

The exportations by foreign ships, which will be seen, must be deducted — — 6,426,106 17 3

			L.	S.	D.
Remainder	—	—	183,468,408	2	9
Average importations	—	—	133,090,629	10	—

By the balance of which; the exportations (the dollars not included) exceeded the importations by — — — 50,377,778 12 6

Paragraph II. Foreign Trade.

The toleration of foreign trade had been an object of long dispute and struggle between the planters and

and the merchants of the mother-country, from the earliest times. The pretensions on both sides aimed at nothing less than absolute liberty or absolute exclusion. Government had in the beginning, much inclined to the latter; but when informed by experience, steering a middle course, whatever regard it had to national trade, it could not but be sensible that a certain indulgence of foreign importations was essentially necessary to the welfare of the colony, and that if it promoted culture, the prosperity of culture could not fail to turn in a great measure to the advantage of national trade. But as the blind interest of the latter had the greatest influence, the ministry carried on the matter with great cautiousness, and made many trials, always advancing, but by slow steps, towards improvement.

The exclusive prohibitions, in the early periods, served only to promote a contraband more prejudicial than a reasonable allowance. These were taken off. Mole St. Nicholas was settled, and foreign trade was admitted there under great restrictions. The Americans chiefly resorted to it, and they resorted in great numbers. Their goods were taken by coasters, who carried them to every part of the island, from whence they conveyed to the Mole molasses and rum, the only articles of exportation allowed. The coasters increased to great numbers and made great profits. The national ships suffered from desertion, and were drained of their men, because a more profitable and less dangerous navigation was opened to them. Besides, population of this kind was by no means advantageous to the colonial interest, police, and discipline. Lastly, as the greatest profits of the whole trade were in a manner engrossed by the coasters, smuggling was still carried on with eagerness. Without it the planters had been but badly supplied.

In the year 1784, his majesty adopted another plan, and a law was enacted in his council, of which these are the chief articles: 6. Last Law.

The foreign ships, above sixty tons, were admitted into the three principal ports of Port-au-Prince, the Cape, and the Cayes, in exclusion of all others.

The articles of importation were boards, staves, shingles, timber, and all kinds of wood, chiefly for dying; coals, live cattle of every kind, salt beef, cod-fish, and salted fish; Indian corn and its flour, pease, beans, and vegetables; raw or tanned leather, skins, rosin, tar, and pitch.

The exportations remained, as formerly, confined to molasses and rum; but goods of importation from France were allowed to be re exported.

The duty upon exportations and importations was one per cent. of the value, and, moreover, three livres per head upon salt beef, cod-fish, and salted fish. These duties were designed as a premium for the importation of the above salted articles by the French, an encouragement which had very little effect, as our navigation was expensive, and wanted those more profitable branches to support it, which were at hand.

A kind of custom house (bureau d'entrepôt) was established, either to collect the duty or to prevent fraud. It was composed of a director, of a receiver and of searchers. Fresh directions were given to the naval station to watch over interlope (as well as to the domaine, sloops maintained by government). It is but justice to say, that the officers of our navy were not slow to obey, nor perhaps averse to the profits accruing from the captures. It must, however, be owned, that no means can effectually prevent smuggling in a coast so extensive, and so full of small bays and creeks, as that of St. Domingo.

By the law of 1784, all nations were placed upon the same footing. But the greatest part of foreign

U

trade

trade was still carried on by the Americans. Some vessels also from the Dutch islands, traded in our harbours. But the Spaniards, from the Main Land, Cuba, Porto Rico, and from Hispaniola, were particularly encouraged, as they supplied the colony with its current specie, and with the greatest part of the cattle necessary for the plantations. The Spaniards were even sometimes allowed to export Guinea negroes.

Great importation indispenibly requires proportionable exportation; and it must be allowed that the law paid too much regard to national trade, in limiting the exportations (chiefly with respect to the Americans) solely to rum and molasses. As amends were made, in some degree, to the national trade, by opening a new outlet for all French commodities, as dry goods, wine, oil, soap, brandy, which the Americans were allowed to export, some further indulgence of our own produce might have been granted. Our rum, as has been observed, was little demanded abroad. Cargoes of molasses could not pay the importations, even when, in latter times, the price became more than double; the consequence of which was, that a great balance in cash was annually exported, which contributed to drain the colony of specie.

7.
Shipping.

The following are the returns of foreign trade, including some French ships, coming from the north, with American cargoes.

1788	-	763 Vessels from America and from the Danish islands	55,745 tons.
		46 French ditto — —	3,405
		259 Spanish ditto — —	15,417
1789	-	Ships of all nations, 1,668 —	<u>60,052 tons.</u>

Importations,

ARTICLE VII.

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Importations, value in cash,

	L.	s.	d.	8. Importations.
1788	—	—	17,065,392	11 3
1789	—	—	17,224,776	6 4

Balance of 1789.

	L.	s.	d.	9. Balance.
Importations	—	—	17,224,776	6 4
Exportations	—	—	6,426,106	17 3
			10,798,670	3 1

From that balance must be deducted the following articles:

	L.	s.	d.
Commissions of agents	591,268	1	7
Charges and expences	1,268,400	—	—
Pilots, admiralty, &c.	368,950	3	8
Duties of all kinds	474,243	—	—
			2,703,861 5 3

The real balance was — 8,094,809 3 10

in favour of foreigners, which the Americans must have exported in specie.

For the encouragement of the South, the governor had permitted, perhaps without proper authority (May 9th, 1789) the importation of negroes by foreigners into that department, liable to a duty of 45 livres per head. We find that the negroes imported in that year, were 602.

	Livres.
Sold for	— — — 1,314,147
The duty amounted to	— — — 19,755

Balance also exported in cash, was 1,294,392

Paragraph III. Land Trade.

I have mentioned a trade in black cattle for the shambles, carried on with the Spanish part of St. Domingo, under the express authority of government.

ment. Some of those cattle were sold to the planters, for their proper use, by the butchers.

But the Spaniards carried on another trade, namely in black cattle, mules, and horses, and some articles of less value, as tobacco, junk works, and mats; pitter-cords, land turtle, &c. On this account, provisions and dry goods were exported, and a pretty large balance was paid in cash. But as there was no duty laid on that trade, it being only tolerated in this country, and forbidden by the Spanish government, no information could be obtained of the amount.

Paragraph IV. *Colonial Sea Trade.*

Some vessels, fitted out in our ports, went to the coasts and islands of the Spanish Main, in interlope, for mules, or, more openly, to Louisiana for wood, timber, boards, and shingles. These exported French goods. I have no particulars upon this subject.

10.
Coasters.

As to coasters, their numbers became much reduced, when the three principal ports were opened to foreign trade, and the men of these vessels either engaged to man the homeward bound ships, or to enter into employment, one way or other, in the country.

Some coasters carried the produce from Fort Dolphin, Port Depaix, St. Marks, Jeremy, &c. to the three principal ports, and chiefly to the Cape, where the market was better, with drawbacks from the receivers of octroi.

Every parish on the coast had its landing place, to which the produce was carried, and at which certain agents, called passengers, had stores to receive;

ceive, and vessels to transport the different articles to town, and carry back the provisions, at a stated freight and commission.

All these coasters were liable to certain regulations, the violation of which was cognizable, either by the admiralty court, or by that of common law.

Portuguese gold, and Spanish gold or silver, were the principal current coins here. These were also considered as merchandizes, the dollars more particularly, being an object of exportation to France.

11.
Specie

The ideal denominations were livres, sols and deniers; the livre worth 20 sols, and the sol 12 deniers. The currency was such, that two French livres amounted here to three livres.

As to effective money, it consisted of Portuguese johannas, half-johannas, and quarters, worth 132, 66, and 33 livres.

Spanish gold consisted of doubloons, half-doubloons, and quarters.

Silver money of dollars, half-dollars, and quarters. Next, of bits, double-bits, and half-bits.

Formerly, the doubloons were worth 120 livres. Some were not milled; and however much adulterated (as well as Portuguese coin) passed at full value, and their fractions in proportion. About the year 1772, it was enacted that both should pass only for their value, according to weight.

About the same time it was imagined, and rather inconsiderately adopted, that exportation of money, by which circulation was hampered, would be effectually prevented if the nominal value were raised.

The doubloon was accordingly raised from 120 to 126 livres, and its fractions in proportion; the dollar from 10 bits to 11, or from 7 livres 10 sols, to

U 3

8 livres

8 livres 5 sols. The bits remained at their former value of 15 sols.

The consequence was (as might have been expected) that all commodities soon took the level with the actual representative sign; while the merchants finding still, in some circumstances, more benefit in exporting money than goods, the increase of nominal value only became a benefit to the Spaniards, and our own wealth in specie was increased in idea, not in reality.

ART. VIII. RELIGION, RELIGIOUS AND OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS.

1.
Religion.

The catholick, apostolick, Roman religion was exclusively that of the colony. The black code, or edict of 1685, did not particularly mention the protestants, but it prescribed the absolute exclusion of the Jews. Severity however had fallen into disuse; but the public exercise of no religion, except the established religion of the colony, was tolerated.

We cannot help confessing, and in confessing lament, that religion was fallen into so great a neglect, that the exercise of it was treated almost with ridicule and scorn. Where climate heightens the relish of luxury and sensual enjoyments, where incitements are constantly present, where means of gratification are easy, as in St. Domingo, it requires more than common energy to resist the seductions of libertinism; and unfortunately, the small share of knowledge and philosophy known in this island, instead of preserving the life pure and the morals correct, was employed in inventing arguments of sophistry to combat and weaken the restraints of religion.

Perhaps more solid or deeper knowledge would act as a preservative against those dangerous errors.

But

But however that may be, it is certain that a general contempt of religion, and profligacy of manners, were fatal and unfortunate circumstances in our colonies. Planters ought to have considered, that moral influences ought to have been employed, as the best means of keeping so great a number of slaves in subjection; for as superstition has great power over people of this class, an exterior observance of religion, and a regard to moral duties, would have formed one of the surest bonds of order and submission in domestick œconomy.

The following was the religious establishment of the colony. 2. Establishment.

The *missions* consisted of an *apostolick prefect* and a certain number of priests. There was a *vicar* appointed in every parish by the prefect, and under his direction. The prefect himself was appointed by his majesty, and received from the pope certain of the lesser dispensing powers of the bishops; but he had none of the jurisdiction of the ordinary. In the parishes where population was considerable, the vicars had one or two assistant priests.

Tithes were entirely unknown in the colony (*a*)

I have already observed, that the vicars had a certain salary, fixed and paid by the freeholders of the respective parishes. They had also some stated casual perquisites for masses and burials. Gratuities for marriages and baptisms were entirely voluntary. From what I have said (Art. the 5th, No. 19.) it is obvious that the freehold of the church and its appurtenances was vested in the body of the parish. In the country in general, the vicar had the use of a certain extent of land, and sometimes of a few negroes belonging to the church.

(*a*) Dr. Adam Smith (vol. 2. page 374) expressly says, "that in the French, as well as in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the ecclesiastical government is oppressive; that tithes take place; that there is a numerous race of mendicant friars, who are a charge upon poor people; that clergy are the greatest ingrossers of land."

It is to be lamented, that the best writers receive too often wrong information upon facts, of which they cannot be themselves judges.

The clergy were under the direction of the governor and intendant, who had power jointly with the prefect, or rather with his advice, to send home such men of the church as proved of bad character and conduct.

That each mission might be better supplied, it was the custom to trust it to certain orders of friars, who sent recruits from time to time. When churches became vacant, they were filled by the appointment of the prefect.

There were two missions, one of Dominican friars, formerly at Leogane and afterwards at Port-au-Prince, for the west and south; another, formerly of Jesuits, but since the dissolution of that society, of Capuchines, at the Cape, for the north.

I cannot help observing that, whatever might be the political tenets of that society, as the loss of it has been felt in France in the education of youth, it has also been regretted here on other accounts no less interesting. The manners of this society were decent, and little attention seemed to be paid to an increase of their casual perquisites; but the matter of the greatest importance was, that it was attentive in improving the natural bias of superstition in negroes, to respect and submission due to their masters; qualifications not so well supplied by its successors.

3. Temporal Property.

In the early times of the colony, the mission did not find difficulty, nor did it entirely neglect the opportunity, of acquiring property. The Dominicans had, at Port-au-Prince, a very handsome house with convenient and comfortable appurtenances. As that town was settled only in 1752, the mission, previous to that period, was at Leogane, where it had a house in town; a sugar estate, with two hundred negroes, of about 150,000 pounds weight a year; a little estate where provisions were raised,

raised, and another sugar estate, at Cavillon, farmed for 25,000 livres.

The property of the Jesuits, in the north, consisted in a large sugar and in a coffee estate, which were sold for the benefit of their creditors. They had also, at the Cape, a large space of ground with a stately house, which afterwards belonged to his majesty, in which the governor was lodged, and where the courts sat. As the Capuchines had no property, an annual supply of six thousand livres was allowed them from his majesty's treasure.

There was at the Cape a convent of nuns for the education of the sex. Their property was a pretty extensive house and garden, and a public chapel, and on the nearest mountain, a small estate where provisions and vegetables were cultivated for their consumption. They principally subsisted from the pensions paid by the young ladies committed to their care.

4.
Education.

I shall cursorily observe, that the greater part of young people of fortune, of both sexes, were sent home for their education, a system encouraged by government, as tending to cement the connection of the colony with the mother-country, so that public schools, for reading, writing, and arithmetick, were established in the principal towns (under the inspection of the police) only in latter times, though (as far as respects a certain class of people) it would perhaps have been better that such seminaries had not been permitted.

The management of the royal hospitals, at the Cape and Leogane, was in the hands of the *charity* friars, and the supply was from the convent at Paris. The intendant made a bargain with them for the officers, soldiers, and seamen. At Port-au-Prince, Cayes, and other places, there were other contractors. The highest rates which I find recorded, are 15 livres per day for the officers, 4 livres 8 sols for the soldiers.

5.
Hospitals.

soldiers and seamen, 6 livres for each burial. The king's physicians and surgeons attended every day, as well as an officer of every corps, who reported the neglects and complaints of patients.

At the Cape, their property consisted in a vast convenient sick house for the privates, another for the officers, and a beautiful dwelling house, with its appurtenances, a mile distant from the town, in a pleasant healthy situation, and well watered, upon an estate out of which two or three others were let to farm, and, moreover, a good handsome sugar estate four miles distant.

At Leogane, their property consisted in an hospital built upon 18 squares of good land; a sugar estate with 200 negroes, yielding 350,000 pounds of brown sugar; a coffee estate of 40,000 weight a year, and a ground where provisions were cultivated.

Hospitality was practised in those houses, but that is not wonderful, as it was the favourite virtue of the planters of St. Domingo: an honest traveller might go through the whole island, finding in every plantation, not only welcome entertainment, but horses and carriages for conveyance. The greatest difficulty, in short, which a man of figure met with, was to obtain permission to depart.

6.
Waters.

Government had an establishment at the mineral hot waters of Port a Piment in the north, for the relief of the sick of the garrisons, the director of which, however, was allowed to keep separate lodgings for other persons. Before this establishment was made, the sick went to the waters of Banica, in the Spanish part of the island, three leagues distant from the borough of that name.

7. Provi-
dence
Houses.

Early in the present century, a reputable merchant at the Cape (Mr. Turc de Castelveyre) devised his whole estate for the settlement of two houses, where poor men and women coming from Europe should find

find maintenance till they were capable of shifting for themselves. These houses, by several gifts, bequests, and grants from the government, were become considerable civil hospitals. They were under the administration of a board, composed of the attorney-general, a few members of both courts, and some reputable citizens, under the superior authority of the intendant (a).

As I have mentioned, in this article, establishments of public instruction, I shall take notice of royal printing houses settled at the Cape and Port-au-Prince, and of a literary association at the Cape, which, in 1789, had been favoured with a charter, under the title of *royal society of sciences and arts*. It might, in process of time, have been improved so as to be of service, if its enquiries had happened fortunately to be properly directed.

2. Royal Society.

ART. IX. THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The establishment of the army in St. Domingo, in time of peace, consisted of two regiments of foot and a brigade of artillery, recruited from France. These supplied the garrisons in the different parts of the island.

1. Army.

There was a regiment known by the name of the regiment of Port-au-Prince, another by that of the Cape. The uniform was plain, without any vain parade of expensive show, and without the incumbrance of lace. They were entirely under the authority of the minister of the marine.

2. Regiments.

(a) In the year 1787, a similar establishment was made at Port-au-Prince by the commander in chief and the intendant, which was not of duration on account of the revolution.

These ,

These regiments consisted of 2 battalions.

The first battalion consisted of a company of grenadiers and four of fusiliers; the second, of a company of chasseurs and four of fusiliers.

In time of peace, each company of fusiliers consisted of a captain in command, a second captain, a first lieutenant, a second lieutenant, two ensigns or sub-lieutenants, a serjeant major, a harbinger (fourier) intrusted with the functions of quarter-master, 5 serjeants, 10 corporals, 10 appointees, 2 drummers, and 90 privates; in all 119 men and 6 commissioned officers.

The companies were divided into ten detachments, each of which had an appointee and a corporal at its head. A serjeant commanded two detachments.

In time of war, the number was increased to 3 drummers and 140 privates; reinforcements of other regiments were also sent.

The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs were officered as the others. But they were, both in times of peace and war, of only 5 serjeants, 8 corporals, 8 appointees, 72 privates, and 2 drummers; in all 96 men, six officers, and eight detachments.

The field officers were, a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, and a major. They had not companies of their own.

The staff was composed of a quarter-master, with the rank of lieutenant, 2 standard-bearers, who ranked as youngest ensigns, 2 adjutants, a surgeon major, an armourer, a drum-major with the rank of serjeant major.

The whole regiment, the officers	}	1,183	} men.
included, was, in time of peace			
In time of war	}	2,366	

Pay

ARTICLE IX.

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Pay of Officers.

			Livres
Colonel	—	—	15,000 per an.
Lieutenant colonel	—	—	10,500
Major	—	—	7,200
Quarter master treasurer	—	—	2,700
Standard bearers	—	—	1,890
Adjutants	—	—	1,230
The two first captains in command	—	—	4,950
The eight others	—	—	4,200
The two first second captains	—	—	3,600
The eight others	—	—	3,150
First lieutenants	—	—	2,400
Second lieutenants	—	—	2,250
Ensigns	—	—	2,100

In time of war, the preceding rates were increased by a quarter's pay in addition.

The officers had no rations, no allowances, no cloathing, and they were liable to no stoppages.

The mercantile job of cloathing the regiment, allowed to the colonel, was unknown in the French service.

Pay of the Fuziliers and Chasseurs.

			L.	s.	d.	
Serjeant majors	—	—	1	6	—	per day.
Serjeants and harbingers	—	—	1	1	6	
Corporals	—	—	14	3		
First appointee	—	—	9	9		
Other appointees	—	—	9			
Fuziliers and drummers	—	—	8	3		

per

APPENDIX.

Pay of Grenadiers.

	L.	s.	D.	
Serjeant major	—	1	9	per day
Serjeants and harbingers	—	1	5	3
Corporals	—	—	16	6
First appointee	—	—	12	—
Other appointees	—	—	10	9
Grenadiers and drummers	—	—	10	6
Drum major	—	1	6	—
Armourer	—	—	8	3

The ration of the non-commissioned officers and privates was, every day, 24 ounces of fresh bread; or 20 of flour; 8 ounces of fresh or salted meat.

There was a stoppage of twenty deniers per day, upon the pay of serjeant majors, drum majors, serjeants and harbingers, and of twelve deniers upon that of all others, for linen and shoes; and to that stoppage the king added a gratuity, in time of war, of eight deniers per day, in behalf of all non-commissioned officers and privates.

There was also a general mass or stoppage of 45 livres per annum, in time of peace, and 51 livres in time of war, upon the pay of all non-commissioned officers (the adjutants included) and privates, for the expences of cloathing, equipment, the poll tax, and the invalid tax, to which they were liable; from that mass the drummers received an addition of pay of 12 deniers per day, for the maintenance of their drums and sticks.

The cloathing, arms, and equipment of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and arms of the officers, were at the king's cost, from the general mass which belonged to him. The cloathings were suitable to the climate. Linen shirts, a coat, jacket, trowsers of dowlas, for the usual service; a coat of cloth,

cloth, and linen waistcoats, breeches, and leg-gins, for the days of parade.

The two regiments were lodged in large beautiful barracks of the king's, at the Cape and Port-au-Prince.

The discipline and administration of the regiments were minutely settled by the ordinance of December 10th, 1784. The reviews were made every month, by the commissary charged with the department of the war, to state the pay and rations.

The governor, as has been said, was inspector-general of the troops, artillery, militia, and fortifications.

The colonial brigade belonged to the corps royal of artillery of France (ordinance of the king's, October 24th, 1784.) ^{3.} Artillery.

A brigade was composed of four companies of *cannoneers bombardeers*, at the head of which was immediately a brigade-master (*chef de brigade*); but as the brigade was only part of a regiment distributed in all the French colonies, and which had field officers, a *colonel director of artillery* and an adjutant major were stationed in St. Domingo.

The companies consisted of a

Captain in command	—	}	commissioned officers.
A second captain	—		
A first lieutenant	—		
A second lieutenant	—		
A third lieutenant	—		
A serjeant major	—	}	non commissioned ditto.
A serjeant harbinger clerk	—		
Five serjeants	—		
Five corporals	—		
Five appointees	—		
Five fire-workers	—		

Five

APPENDIX.

Five cannoneer-bombardeers	—	} Privates.
of the first class	—	
Five ditto of the second ditto	—	
Forty appointees	—	
A drummer	—	

In all, five officers and 88 men; each company divided into five detachments (a).

The regiments had, besides, two companies of artificers; composed as the others, except that the privates were;

Fifteen artificers of the first class
 Fifteen of the second
 Twenty-five apprentices
 One drummer.

In all, five officers and 73 men.

A detachment of one of the companies of artificers was stationed at St. Domingo.

There was, at the Cape, a polygone or school of artillery, and a fine arsenal, with a large park, stores, and work-houses; as also barracks for the brigade and artificers.

When the service required it, the several parts of the colony were supplied from the brigade. The law above-mentioned had settled the service, discipline, administration, and reviews of that corps. The pays were as follow:

	Livres.
Colonel director's	— 18,000 per an.
Brigade master's	— 8,100
Adjutant major's	— 3,750

(a) It is not, perhaps, improper to observe, that our military corps were free from the encumbrance, if not nuisance, of wives and women, seen in other services. Perhaps one of 300 soldiers or officers was not seen to have a wife.

Captains

ARTICLE IX.

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			Livres.
Captains in command (a)	—	—	5,850 per an.
Second ditto	—	—	4,050
First lieutenants	—	—	3,000
Second ditto	—	—	2,850
Third ditto	—	—	2,700
Serjeant major	—	—	1,170
Serjeant harbinger clerk	—	—	769 10
Corporals	—	—	486
Appointees	—	—	364 10
Fire-workers	—	—	324
First class—Cannoneers-bom-			
bardeers	—	—	283 10
Second ditto—Ditto	—	—	216
Apprentices	—	—	189
Drummers	—	—	—283 10

Company of Artificers.

Serjeant major	—	—	1,440
Serjeant harbinger clerk	—	—	769 10
Corporals	—	—	594
Appointees	—	—	513
Artificers—first class	—	—	472 10
Ditto — second ditto	—	—	364 10
Apprentices	—	—	297
Drummer	—	—	283 10

All pay, in general, was augmented by a quarter, in time of war. The same ration allowed to the infantry.

In time of actual war, and under the activity of field-service, an allowance was granted to the officers, at the pleasure of the governor and intendant.

(a) To the first of them, as also to the senior captain in command of artificers, an addition of 450 livres was allowed.

The stoppage for linen and shoes was the same as for the infantry.

The general mafs was 84 livres per annum, for the non-commissioned officers and privates.

The cloathing and equipment were fettled as for the infantry.

4. The corps of Engineers was as follows :
Engineers.

Officers.

	Pay.
	Livres.
A director-general of fortifications — —	18,000 per an.
Three engineers in chief —	7,500 each.
Two engineers or more —	5,160 ditto.
Engineers geographers, when captains — —	4,500
Ditto, when lieutenants —	3,000

With no allowance or cloathing.

The director-general had an office, where all the draughts of plans, of fortifications, and works, were made and deposited, copies of which were sent to the general repository of plans at Versailles.

I fhall here curforily observe, that in the last years, the government had directed all the surveyors of lands to draw the charts of the respective parishes, marking, by figure and name, all the plantations. This had been performed, and, out of all those charts, a general map was begun to be executed.

5. That military service is a hardship for peaceable
Militia. planters cannot be denied; but if it were well considered, that where near 500,000 slaves must be kept in subjection by a handful of men, in a very extensive territory, a well-fettled, and in some measure disciplined, militia, must appear to be the only

only means to be depended upon, and on that account no man ought to repine at those hardships. The mildness of our government was exceedingly defective in this respect; and when the revolt broke out, the inhabitants were found almost defenceless in some places. The inconvenience was felt, but too late.

Our militia, in time of peace, was only bound to appear at four annual reviews, for the inspection of their arms, ammunition, and uniform. Even that was considered as a grievance, and was individually easily dispensed with. In time of war, they were obliged to guard for eight days, by turns, the respective forts and batteries dispersed over the coasts, which service was often turned into rendezvous of entertainment and jollity.

The establishment of the militia had suffered many alterations; even a foolish governor had once abolished it. I will mention the system established in the year 1768, and some modifications which were prescribed in 1787.

The whole island was divided into sixteen quarters; five in the north, five in the south, six in the west, each comprehending four or five contiguous parishes. Each quarter furnished a battalion, under a commander, a major, and an adjutant-major.

The companies of infantry, in the parishes, were officered by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, and consisted of 2 serjeants, 8 corporals, 40 privates, and a negro or mulatto drummer.

The companies of horse consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, 2 quarter-masters, 8 brigadiers, and 40 dragoons; but the number of privates and dragoons could not always be strictly adhered to.

The senior captain had the command in his parish, and was allowed an adjutant under him.

There was a gradual subordination and correspondence among the different ranks, and of parish officers to the battalion officers.

In every parish there was an alarm gun.

When the militia was on active service, in time of war, the officers of the line had command only over militia officers of the same rank with themselves, a captain of the militia being superior to a lieutenant of the army; but the militia was subordinate to the military commanders of the departments and districts.

The militia had no pay or cloathing, even in time of war. The officers were appointed by the king, and provisionally by the governor.

They were entitled to the cross of St. Lewis, viz. the commanders after twenty-eight years service, the majors after thirty, the captains after thirty-two, the lieutenants after thirty-six, time of war being reckoned double.

The officers had some civil functions in their parishes, as of taking and verifying the returns of the property and families of the inhabitants, upon printed forms annually sent by government; they also inspected and returned the sufficiency of the provision-grounds upon all the estates in the parishes.

The militia did not serve out of their own districts, without an express order from the governor.

The free negroes and people of colour served in separate companies of foot, officered by white gentlemen. Independent of the ordinary service, they were employed in going after the run-away negroes, who disturbed the peace, but only by express order of the commander, and they were allowed certain gratuities in case of success. They also served, by turns, as plantoons or orderly, at the houses of the commanders, and for a week, to carry orders, &c.

All persons who had civil employments in administration, or were sworn in courts, were exempted from

from this service, as well as the knights of St. Lewis, and pensioned veteran officers of the army, and the members of the boards of agriculture; but they were bound to keep two muskets in good order, four pounds of gunpowder, and twelve of bullets, and liable to inspection, a regulation very much neglected.

I am not able to state the number of the militia in St. Domingo; but I suppose it had been little short of eight or ten thousand men in 1789, if the laws had been strictly executed.

In 1787, another regulation was made, on account of some pretensions of a dangerous tendency started by the commanders of battalions. The battalions were suppressed. The militia of each parish was distinct, and directly subordinate to the commanders of the districts. A commander in each parish was to be appointed, by the governor, from among the captains of the companies thereof. The militia was to consist of companies of foot, grenadiers, fusiliers, artillery, and dragoons. The ensigns of companies were suppressed, and some alterations also took place in the numbers of privates and non-commissioned officers. The age of service was fixed from 15 to 55 years. Every planter was bound to supply the militia with three white men, himself included, if he owned eighty negroes and upwards.

As all the towns of St. Domingo (some of them perhaps too large and populous) had been placed upon the coasts, for the convenience of commerce, all the fortifications were also directed towards exterior defence, no other want being ever so much as foreseen or suspected. Yet those who had considered better the extent of the coasts, and the numerous places where descents could be effected, without possibility of opposing them effectually,

6. Fortifications.

were of opinion that ships of the line were the only certain means of defence.

However, some forts were necessary, and were erected in all the principal harbours; and batteries were made at a great number of exterior landing places.

A general view of this kind will only be expected from me.

St. Lewis, in the south, Port-au-Prince, Leogane, St. Marcs, Port Depaix, Fort Dolphin, and the Cape, have good forts of defence; but the Mole is particularly remarkable; and, if all its forts and batteries were well-served, they might bid defiance to the most formidable naval force, and actually keep it off.

The colony had, in general, a very fine and numerous coast artillery, perfectly well mounted, and kept in good order.

Conclu-
sion.

Thus I have given all the information in my power concerning the constitution and the situation of St. Domingo, before 1789 (a).

Every nation is apt to claim a superiority in favour of her own system. The uninterrupted tranquillity and ever increasing prosperity of this colony might incline me to some partiality; however, as Mr. Pope says,

“ For forms of governments let fools contest,
“ Whate’er is best administer’d is best.”

In general, the knowledge of the laws *only* of any country conveys to the mind a more favourable

(a) The best effect that can be wished from this information being published, is, that the British government, legislature, and nation, be fully satisfied, that no other form of administration can agree with the restoration and tranquillity of St. Domingo, and that (if ever Great Britain obtains possession of this island) no alteration ought to be made in the former constitution; a mixture of democracy may be very proper for British colonies and for English heads, but *piscis hic non est omnium*.

idea

idea than the actual situation, warrants; because, however difficult it is to frame good laws, it is still easier to find legislators endowed with knowledge, and disengaged of passion and self interest, than to meet with a whole nation ready to obey laws which may thwart private views and interests, or magistrates on every occasion sacrificing their own purposes and affections in the execution of their duty.

Our settlements in the West Indies are, doubtless, more liable to this inconvenience than other countries. They are at a great distance from the centre and source of power. People, whom want hath forced from their homes (not to speak of those whom ill conduct hath driven into the colonies) actuated by ambition to go in quest of riches to the farthest extremities of the world, through the storms and dangers of the sea, and who are eager to return speedily to their country with an accumulation of wealth, are much less influenced by respect for the laws than by interested views. Magistrates and officers entrusted with power cannot well be perfectly free from this general disposition. The planters themselves are, by degrees, infected with the contagion, in as much as the rage of going to France, with the means of enjoying a higher degree of the luxuries of life and refinements of pleasure, pervades them, and alienates them, as it were, from their own country.

Thus selfishness and covetousness take the lead; public spirit is not known. Robbers or highwaymen are not heard of, because a small industry supports men of low condition; but every one tries to make the most of his situation or employment, to raise speedily a large fortune, and in the execution of this favourite scheme the effect is more regarded than the means. At the same time, the climate inflames other passions. The means of gratifying the passions are obvious and easy. Profligacy of

manners becomes general. Shame affords no longer a check. The restraints of religion might still be effectual, but the rank weeds of vice suffocate, so that every principle of religious duty, inculcated in early youth, is treated with scorn. If, amidst the general corruption, honest sober men happen to be living satires of the world, if magistrates are strict and severe in enforcing the laws, ridicule, and perhaps persecution, will fall upon them from all quarters, and will sink them into despondency.

Thus, the best laws fail of their aim and lose their influence. Such was, in a great measure, the case in St. Domingo; such it must be, I am afraid, in every colony of the West Indies, in proportion to wealth and prosperity.

However, religion, honesty, good manners, and a strict execution of the laws, are the only guardians of all political societies; and where things are fallen into that state, which I have rapidly but too faithfully described, the colony may still subsist for some time, but it will sink by degrees, and, perhaps, perish at last by some frightful catastrophe.

ARTICLE THE LAST.

SOME HINTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN ST. DOMINGO.

Here I had determined to put an end to my task; but after the preceding account of the former state of St. Domingo, I am sensible that English readers will expect to find some notice of its actual situation under the British government. Under other circumstances, perhaps, I would gladly enlarge upon this subject; but, averse as I am to blame, I shall
content

content myself with some general remarks, and that with reluctance.

Before the period of the French revolution, a fanatical society existed in France, which aimed at the general emancipation of slaves. This society united itself with that of the Jacobins, which held out still more extensive principles of political liberty. Agents were necessary in the colonies to forward these views, and the people of colour, who were known to be disgusted at their actual state of depression, were supposed to be instruments fit for this purpose. The events, which happened in St. Domingo were unfortunately such as aided too effectually in promoting their scheme.

As soon as the news of the first revolt in Paris arrived in St. Domingo, the populace of our great towns became infected with the example, and dropped the mask of subordination. Their numbers and insolence overawed the government, and as many men of property, but of mean education, were intoxicated with the spirit of revolt, the few men of reflection and foresight, who ranged on the side of administration, were unable to resist the torrent. The democratic party took the lead in the popular assemblies that were then formed. In these, the negroes saw the dangerous example of numbers bearing down authority formerly respected; an example most impolitic and dangerous in its consequences.

The people of colour claimed a share in those pretended advantages which the ruling party of the whites promised themselves by the revolution, and insisted upon the equality of rights, which the law of 1685 had assigned to them, but which they had never been permitted to enjoy. The jealousy and pride of the assemblies took the alarm. The people of colour became the objects of severe persecution; but not in a situation to hope for victory by open

open force, and chagrined at disappointment, they readily gave ear to the insinuations of the Jacobins and their emissaries (*a*). The revolt of the negroes actually broke out in the north. The whole country became immediately a scene of confusion, murder, and devastation, which I refrain to describe. In the south and west, the planters joined with the mulattoes against the towns, where the whites of the lowest rank had also taken the lead. Civil war raged there with uncommon fury; but the negroes were only revolted in some places where the mulattoes wanted their assistance. The whole colony was then distracted by war, and by the opposition of parties inflamed against each other; negroes against whites, whites against mulattoes, assemblies against government, people of no property, under the name of patriots, against planters, even assemblies against assemblies. Some attempts were made to subdue the revolted negroes; but there was no plan, no union, no mutual confidence. The peaceable and honest planters were disgusted and distressed at the miseries of the situation, and a great emigration began to take place. Even where the planters had joined with the mulattoes, if the latter had the superiority of force, most of the former were expelled more or less violently, and the mulattoes took possession of their estates.

The colony was in this situation when the commissaries, *Santhonax* and *Polverel*, emissaries of the Jacobins, the then ruling party, arrived in the island, under pretence of restoring tranquillity, but in fact to complete the scheme of general emancipation. They began by soothing and deceiving the different parties; by publicly declaring that slavery would be

(*a*) The fact is proved by the most undoubted evidence. *Santhonax*, in his proclamation of general emancipation, addresses the negroes in these terms: "Remember for ever, that it is to the people of colour you are indebted for those arms and means by which you have fought for liberty, and conquered it."

rigidly

rigidly maintained. They then laid their plan of ruin, by opposing the different parties to each other. First, government was overturned by the patriots; next, the patriots yielded to the mulattoes. The towns of Port-au-Prince and the Cape, more populous than at former periods, gave umbrage to the commissioners. They attacked Port-au-Prince, and put it under the absolute dominion of the mulattoes. Jeremy had entirely subdued or expelled this class of men, and thus preserved property and the submission of the negroes. The commissaries, in the act of preparing to march against it, were called to the Cape, where a party was seemingly formed by general Galbaud, to oppose their views and overturn their authority. Arrived at this place with a numerous train of mulattoes, assisted by the negroes of the town, whom they easily corrupted, by the prisoners taken out of the gaol, and by the brigands of the country, with whom they had for a long time entered into correspondence; moreover, assisted by the incapacity, cowardice, and perhaps treachery of general Galbaud himself, they plundered and reduced the town to ashes almost entirely. A great number of whites were butchered. The greater part of the others escaped to America, with Galbaud, by means of a large fleet, which was then in the harbour. The situation of those who remained was truly pitiable; a shocking slavery under those who had been formerly their own slaves. The mulattoes were now no longer an obstacle to the scheme of the commissaries. General liberty was proclaimed in the north by Santhonax. In the west and south, such proprietors as remained, were compelled by Polverel to grant the negroes a general and perpetual emancipation.

Confusion was now complete, the power of the commissaries was almost uncontrouled and the expulsion or destruction of what remained of white proprietors

2. Introduction of the English

proprietors was pursued with eagerness, Jeremy remained alone free, but sensible that it could not resist long, application was made to Jamaica for protection. The Mole, where a great number of whites had taken refuge, and Bombarde, followed the example. These places, and the extensive district of Jeremy, were surrendered to commodore John Ford, in the month of September 1793; St. Marc with its territory, Leogane, and Larcahay, were taken possession of in the same manner; and Jean Rabel was taken without resistance, in the following month of January. Some forces having been sent from Jamaica and from England, Tiburoon and Port-au-Prince also yielded, with the borough and territory of Croix des Bouquets.

3. and
Spaniards.

In the mean time the Spaniards, having taken into their pay a great number of our revolted negroes, took possession of Verites, Mirbalais, Grand-bois, and Gonayves, in the west; of Fort Dolphin, Wanamint, Gros Morne, and the Borgne, in the north, by voluntary capitulations. They were, however, afterwards expelled from all those places, except Fort Dolphin, which they surrendered at the conclusion of peace with the French republick. In fact, their power was at all times precarious, and their intentions suspicious. A great number of Frenchmen, who had come from America to Fort Dolphin, were massacred by the negroes in the Spanish pay, (July 7th, 1794) a garrison of 1000 men being, during this act, under arms on the parade, without attempting to prevent it, and even driving back the poor wretches who sought for shelter in their ranks.

Mirbalais and Grand-bois were taken by the English, and afterwards Banica, a Spanish territory of great importance, in the view of giving easy access by land into the north of the French colony.

In the mean time, Jeanrabel, Bombarde, Tiburoon, and Leogane have been entirely lost, as also the territory belonging to St. Marc, which itself was narrowly saved by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Brisbane, and the zeal of the inhabitants and garrison. The limits of Jeremy become daily more circumscribed. It is frequently annoyed by the incursions of the brigands, who have burned a great number of estates and carried away the negroes. There are military posts in the mountain near Port-au-Prince, and in the territory of Croix des Bouquets, Grand-bois, and Mirbalais; yet these districts are by no means secure from inroads. Culture just now begins to be attempted, but it is attempted with diffidence, difficulty, and danger, in the rich plain of Croix des Bouquets, where almost all the estates have been lately burned by our own troops, under pretence that they were lurking places for the brigands. Mirbalais, Larcahaye, Grand-bois, and the central parts of Jeremy, are the only quarters where the plantations are cultivated in peace; and even the limits of Larcahaye are by no means secured.

In the month of March, 1796, an attempt was made against Leogane, which failed of success. Bombarde, an insignificant place, was taken in the month of June, but evacuated in less than a month. Since that period, except in the accidental possession of Banica, no attempt to conquest has been made.

Such is the state of the British part of St. Domingo, as far as respects conquest and progress of arms (March 1st, 1797).

It is only since the arrival of his excellency Sir Adam Williamson, (May, 1795) that our government can be said to have assumed any thing of systematic form. Previous to that period, every commanding

4. British
govern-
ment.

commanding officer adopted, in his own district, such measures as he pleased.

Certain articles, settled and signed at St. James's, in the month of February, 1793, between the ministry and several respectable planters of St. Domingo, and recommended to general Williamson by his majesty, have been esteemed as a capitulation, not only of the places surrendered, but of all those which may hereafter by any means whatever come into the possession of Great Britain. By those articles it is expressly agreed, that our religion, constitution, and laws, as well as the taxes existing and paid by the colony, before the year 1789, shall suffer no alteration. It follows of course that the former government and administration should be completely re-established. But this has been carried into effect only in some parts, so that a motley system has arisen, and English institutions are mixed, and sometimes clash with the French constitution. I shall cursorily examine the different heads mentioned in the appendix.

3. Legif-
lature.

It appears that the care of all the regulations, which the present circumstances may require, is left by ministry entirely in the jurisdiction of the governor. He is indeed, or ought to be, assisted by six planters, taken from the three parts of the island, who compose his privy council, for matters of administration and police. This is a new institution extremely plausible in theory, but not so useful in practice. First, because it is now more difficult than ever to compose that council of men of real abilities, and perfectly free from self interest and partialities. 2dly. Because it has no authority; the governor may, but he is not bound to take its advice. 3dly. It had some influence under Sir Adam Williamson; at other times, as many English military men are accustomed to see a check in civil institutions,

ARTICLE THE LAST.

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tions, coldness and neglect sometimes bordering upon jealousy or scorn have been perceived. At all times, intruders and intriguers have had more weight than the privy council; nay, regulations exist in the very records of the court, written or corrected in the margin by the miscreants who suggested and obtained them for their own benefit.

The governor has all the powers which were formerly divided between the governor-general and the intendant; a burthen too heavy for any man, whatever may be his abilities; still more so for a military man, a stranger in the country, a stranger to the laws, and sometimes to the language; at a period too when active war must be carried on, and when all the branches of administration and police require to be re-established anew.

6.
Executive

Thus the old system of our administration is altered. The agent general, or the commissary general of the treasury, has no other power or charge but to pay accounts where he finds the signature of the general. If it should happen that he is not a competent judge of the propriety or impropriety of expence; if in the hurry of immense business he is either mistaken or artfully deceived, the commissary general has no right to make an objection. Besides, no formalities are prescribed, no precautions are taken, at a time when they are more than ever necessary. The money of his majesty is disposed of by the governor exactly as if it were his own; and signatures may be extorted, at unguarded times, which may enable miscreants to secure millions for themselves.

The secretary of the governor has very large fees for all expeditions, and always a very great influence. This has in a great measure been one of the great causes of abusive expence. Civil places
unheard

unheard of were created; military corps of officers formed and paid, which have few, or are without a foldier. Even commissions, both civil and military, were ridiculously given for places which are yet in the power of the enemy (a).

7.
Courts.

The judicial system has been re-established much in the same form as formerly (as also all the ministerial officers belonging to it); a superior council at Port-au-Prince, as also an inferior court of common law. Inferior courts likewise at Jeremy, at St. Marks, and at the Mole, instead of Port Depaix. The proceedings are the same, in civil and criminal cases, as they were before 1787. They are determined by the ancient laws, as far as new regulations do not interfere. The salaries of the members of the superior council are 20,000 livres, those of the president and attorney general had been settled at 25,000 livres; these indeed had secured to themselves certain new fangled fees, which might have become exorbitant, but which were suppressed. A chief justice was established, and as his salary was pretended to be fixed by the minister at 90,000 livres, the attorney general claimed the same annual sum, and was not refused.

The courts of admiralty have not been re-established; only a commission has been appointed by the governor, of which the late agent general was the principal member, to decide upon the cases of interlope and smuggling.

8. Martial
law.

In consequence of some jealousy or other of the civil power, government was betrayed into a proclamation of martial law (of which the British military men seem to be extremely fond) pretended to be directed by his majesty, the first effect of which (how warrantable I cannot say) was to suspend every

(a) Namely, of colonels of negro corps for almost all the parishes in the north; for all these the secretary had his fee.

function

function of the courts. But to these the governor has, after many complaints, again allowed a scanty precarious portion of their former jurisdiction.

The smallest knowledge of the constitution of our government would have prevented this mistake. The promulgation of martial law (in the sense in which it has been understood here) can only be necessary in a country where the military is naturally subordinate to the civil power, and only admitted under emergencies where active and forcible authority is required to quell public disorders. In this country, government being entirely military, and the civil power in strict subordination to it, martial law is an absurdity; as much an absurdity as it would have been under the absolute government of William the Bastard. The formal existence, however, of martial law, puts a stop to the legal redress of all civil or criminal injuries. If the subject may still expect personal safety from the sword, he suffers in his property. Other inconveniences resulting from its rule may be easily perceived, as upon representation made, in an instance where a wrong exertion of power had been exercised, the answer returned was, that *in time of martial law the governor might do whatever he pleased, and the courts had no right to represent.*

The duty of octroi is raised at the English custom houses; a commission of five per cent. is granted to the collector; a charge much greater than the former salary of the receivers. The duty upon exportations is the same as formerly for British vessels, but double for the Americans. The latter pay also the duties prescribed by the law of 1784, and the occident demesne duty only, at the rate of 6½ per cent.

9.
Revenue.

The following is a return, which I have from good authority, of the duties collected from the

Y

20th

20th of February 1795 to the 29th of February 1796:

	L.	S.	D.
At Port-au-Prince —	1,447,088	6	5
Sterling —	£. 41,763	3	1
Jeremy about —	42,000	—	—
Mole and St. Marcs —	2,000	—	—
Total sterling —	£. 85,763	3	1

The duty of octroi upon houses and negroes has never been collected.

The municipal and curial duties are only collected at Jeremy, and expended privately in the district.

It is observed that Jeremy, Grand Bois, Mirbalais, and Larcahay, pay very great voluntary taxes for the expences of their defence; at Jeremy, a pretty regular municipal administration exists on that account. In the other places they are generally collected and managed by the officers commanding. At Port-au-Prince, a general inspector of police, who is also provost general of Mareschalsea, raises taxes on the inns, taverns, gaming-houses, retailers of liquors, and even upon the common sellers at the market place, for some purposes of the police. The public expects that these gentlemen will, one day or other, fairly account to proper authority for both the receipts and expenditure.

Far the greater part of the expence is supplied from the royal treasury of England. I cannot positively state the amount, but I am informed from proper authority, that it has sometimes exceeded 900,000 dollars a month.

Governor Williamson, a man formed by nature to be the comforter of misfortune, saw with pity the distressed

distresses of many families, fallen from wealth into misery and want. In alleviation of these calamities, he granted such a small allowance, which, from particular considerations, and in some instances by dint of importunity or imposition, was enlarged in favour of some individuals; an expence which (as the late agent general used to say) was very little, and too honourable for the British nation, and too well suited to attach the French to their government, to be ever withdrawn; yet in latter times it has been most unmercifully and injudiciously abridged, though more proper objects of reform and retrenchment have not been meddled with.

I must here take notice of what relates to the estates of absentees, actually supposed to be in the territory of the republic. The proceeds of these have been directed, by an act of parliament, to be sequestered, and deposited in the hands of government, for the benefit of the proprietors; a measure which may afford a temporary aid in defraying of expence. General Williamson had settled the management of this business as well as he could, according to the views of the act of parliament. But it has so happened, that the managers have not been compelled to render an account; or, if they have, they all (except one) had so artfully arranged the business, that after admitting great receipts, they still appeared to be creditors; a circumstance certainly very extraordinary, but which has never yet been properly investigated. In consequence of this, interested persons proposed another method of management, namely, the farming of all those estates; but as the very same persons were to be appointed for this purpose, they took care to make themselves perfect masters of the management, to free themselves from the shackles of formalities, and, that no controul might restrain them, they extorted a prohibition, forbidding the courts to take cognizance

of the affairs which concerned the absentees. The leases have been executed in a suitable manner, in a manner quite arbitrary and oppressive. I will not take notice of the wrongs and complaints which resound from all quarters; but I can say candidly, that the rents will not amount to the sixth or fifth of the real produce, and that, though the greater number of absentees may be ruined, the benefit accruing to the public will not be great.

10.
Produce.

The above return states the exportations from Port-au-Prince, that is, from Larcahaye, Grand-bois, and Mirbalais, for the same period of a year and nine days, as follows:

Coffee	—	—	8,660,416	pds. wgt.
Brown sugar from Larcahaye	—	—	9,846,439	
Clayed ditto, from ditto			12,032	
Melasses, hogshheads	—		3,229	
Ditto, tierces		—	128	$\frac{1}{2}$
Cotton	—	—	609,300	
Indigo	—	—	6,072	
Hides	—	—	3,854	

There is no produce at the Mole, or at St. Marks.

I am not able to state the produce of Jeremy, which is almost entirely in coffee; but as it has been seen that the duties collected there exceed those collected at Port-au-Prince, the produce must be also more considerable.

11. Commerce.

The produce of Port-au-Prince (in the period above mentioned), has been exported by British vessels bound to British ports — 58

By foreign ditto, to foreign ditto — 186

I have no returns, either of importations, or of the ships trading in other places.

Though

Though it appears reasonable that the American trade, which feeds the British colony, should be encouraged, it lies actually under very great restrictions as to importations, after having been much indulged under general Williamson. The consequence is, that, at the present moment, the price of bread is raised more than double, and the stores at Jeremy and Port-au-Prince are full of produce, for which there is no demand.

The colonial sea trade is almost entirely annihilated by the brigand privateers, and chiefly by the barges of Leogane and Gonaives, which find shelter in places where our ships cannot pursue them. The misfortune is, that these barges are mostly manned by our very sailors, who deserted to the republick for want of employment, while small vessels might have been fitted out for the protection of our coasts.

Since the declaration of war with the Spaniards (a), cattle and meat begin to be very scarce at the Mole, St. Marcs, and Jeremy; Port-au-Prince being yet tolerably supplied from the limits of Mirbalais and Grand-bois.

All articles of consumption are exceedingly dear, less from scarcity than from the diminished value of money, in consequence of the immense mass brought into circulation, on account of the expences of government.

The population of the whites is much decreased in all the parts of the island, as might be expected, from the massacres, the hardships, and the emigrations which have taken place; though several have returned to the ports in possession of the British, and a great number of emigrants from France

12. Population.

(a) Great hopes have been entertained of the good disposition of the Spanish colonists. It is likely that if a great force had been ready to assist them, they might have exerted themselves in our favour; but now all our expectations on that account have vanished.

have sought employment in the colony, the population is still comparatively inconsiderable. The emigrants from Old France are, in general, brave men, good officers, and in that respect extremely useful; but not having property in the island, they have not the same interest in the speedy re-establishment of order and tranquillity as in the continuance of war, during which they expect to retain their employment and its profits. The planters, in despair of ever regaining their estates, are in a great measure under a similar influence. Present advantages have become the principal aim; the permanent interest of the colony only a secondary object.

The population of the people of colour, during the revolution, cannot be supposed to be much diminished. Those expelled from Jeremy are in the boundaries of the republic. Though under the British government they are, in general, treated with more kindness, and admitted to more equality, than before the revolution; though in some places, or under certain circumstances, they have been used exactly as the whites, a great part of them continued in the same views and dispositions which have actuated them during the revolution. Daily desertions, plots, and treacheries, are discovered. Even one of them, who has the merit of having preserved and surrendered to the English a very rich parish, and has still the chief command of it, has been obliged to use great severity towards great numbers of people of this class. If ever the period comes, when durable peace is to be settled in this colony, one of the points of nicest management will consist in arranging the concerns of that intermediary tribe of men.

In the present unsettled state of the colony, it had been thought proper that no emancipations should be granted by government, and governor William-
son

son had agreed to it; but some have been extorted by deception and importunity.

The population of the negroes, in the whole colony, may be supposed to be reduced to much less than one-half of what it was before the revolution from various causes, from war, from failure of importation, from disorders, and from sickness, without means of attendance and cure, during a course of six years. In parts under the British government, some of these causes have operated, so that the estates are greatly reduced in point of produce, from want of hands to work them. Though some alteration may be remarked in the submission of negroes, yet it is amazing that it should have subsisted as it has, notwithstanding the examples and allurements of the republican system daily, almost, under their eyes.

The principal religious establishment has undergone no alteration. There is a prefect at Port-au-Prince. The churches are filled by the same priests, or such as have been vacated have been supplied with others, and the worship and service are performed as formerly. However, all the estates belonging to the clergy, or to the hospitals, are in the hands of the republicans, except the house of mission at Port-au-Prince.

13.
Religion.

It is with grief one is obliged to observe, that the visitations of God have been ineffectual against irreligion and profligacy of manners, as misery has not checked the habits of luxury. On the contrary, corruption and libertinism seem to have taken deeper roots, being cherished by the wicked principles preached by the French revolutionists.

With regard to the military establishment, it is undeniable that the present circumstances required a great alteration from the old system. Exterior defence is become needless, by the superiority of the

14.
Military.

the British navy; but all the posts require to be fortified against interior attacks. A great colonial force was also indispensable, as it was rightly foreseen that reinforcements adequate to our wants could not be expected from Europe. Happily, the trial made of negroes, under the command of an excellent officer, has given great hopes of success from this quarter.

The ancient corps of the Marshalsea was new modelled into a regiment of cavalry. It was completely officered; but the number of privates could not be completed, so that it was extremely expensive, without being of any real service. It has, therefore, been reduced to four companies of people of colour, and even these not complete. The Marshalsea was then re-established, according to the ancient plan, but much beyond the number.

A legion was formed at Port-au-Prince, composed of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and chevaux legers. It is pretty numerous and very serviceable, but not complete, though from time to time recruited from England.

Another was attempted to be formed at St. Marks, but it went on slowly, and it is now so weak, that the number of officers is very little short of that of the privates. Another at the Mole is also very weak. Lastly, one at Jeremy, which, as it could not be recruited, is now entirely suppressed. The population of whites is very low; those capable of serving are, on one side, averse to the severity of discipline, or, on the other, find so much more profitable employment in serving with the planters, for the particular defence of a district, particularly Jeremy, that they do not think of enlisting.

Emigrants from Leogane, and other republican quarters of the colony, have been formed into corps, but rather with a view of assisting them with pay,
than

than for the sake of real service: yet field officers have been appointed for these corps, which scarcely deserve the appellation of companies.

The establishment of negro corps was regulated by governor Williamson. The system of free-companies was, perhaps, the most proper, either with respect to economy, or on account of better service, but by reasons too obvious he was prevailed upon to determine, that each parish should have a corps of *chasseurs* of five hundred men, officered by white gentlemen. The negroes were required to be supplied by the planters, in the proportion of one out of fifteen, male or female. They were to be paid for by government at the rate of 240 dollars a head.

However, some parishes have two of these corps, so that the planters complain of being forced to contribute beyond what the regulation prescribes: some of the corps also exceed the number, being near a thousand, while others are incomplete; yet, it must be owned, that the necessity of a numerous force of that kind is an excuse for stretching out the rate.

There are two corps in Jeremy, one at Port-au-Prince, two at Croix des Bouquets, one of which, however, is attached to the legion, one at Mirbalais, two at St. Marks, two at Larcahaye, four uncomplete companies at the Mole, and, at present, a corps (under the name of *chasseurs* of the north) at Banica (a).

The colonels of some of these corps have obtained leave to form some companies of horse, a very expensive charge, and seemingly contrary to the purpose of these corps, which are designed to

(a) It was a delicate attempt to form a whole corps entirely of negroes taken among the brigands, however well affected they seemed to be. The last accounts from Banica state, that three or four hundred of them have deserted to the republic, with their arms and baggage.

pursue the enemy through the mountains and in the woods.

It was in the original plan, that the officers should be, as much as possible, chosen from amongst the planters, who were supposed to be better acquainted with the character and mode of managing negroes, than men lately from Europe; but notwithstanding this intention, emigrants have been admitted in great numbers, and even non-commissioned officers of the regiments serving here during the revolution (a). Thus it happens, that some of these corps are neither so properly disciplined nor so trusty as it was expected.

By the formation of all those corps, the militia is both fallen into discredit, and become very ill composed, though, in fact, it was the most respectable colonial corps before the revolution; yet field-officers have been appointed to command it. British pay has been allowed to both officers and privates; but though it has been accepted of by the officers, and by some companies, others have declined it. This service is in general very irregular, a great number of citizens (particularly all the English) either finding means to evade it, or causing it to be performed by substitutes not very trusty.

The whole of the colonial force is said to amount to eight thousand men in British pay. How accurate the returns are I cannot warrant.

There are distinct hospitals for the colonial troops; but some reform has been lately made in this expensive department.

Fortifications have been erected, and perhaps more than were necessary, at all the posts.

Such is, in general, the colonial military establish-

(a) Thus the battalion of Dillon (the former garrison of the Mole) has been drained of all the men who remained, and the officers have been left without a man,

ment at present, independent of British troops, and of foreign troops in British pay.

Such is also the general state of the British possessions in St. Domingo. Minute details would require a large volume; yet I must add, that lately two posts have been taken without resistance, in the Spanish part of the island, namely, *Saint Juan*, near Banica, and *Neyba*, a place commanding the communication with the south; but in the present state of our forces, perhaps such remote possessions cannot be deemed advantageous, and the expence of feeding them is immense.

It appears, that by the accounts transmitted from the colony, three articles give great disgust, and are bitterly complained of in London;

Want of progress,
Immense expence, and
Mortality of troops.

The truth of these charges cannot be denied. The two former are entirely attributed to the *successive* governor and commander in chief, the latter is imputed only to the climate. It is necessary that government and the nation be enabled to form a right judgment on points so material; I shall, therefore, candidly explain the true causes, as I have been an ocular witness of the circumstances.

15. Want
of pro-
gress.

With regard to want of progress; a memorial, stating the situation of the colony, and the means of securing the conquest, was communicated to the ministry so early as 1794. The number of troops necessary was stated at 15,000 men; but it was recommended that they should be dispatched in one embarkation, and that it should be so calculated that they might arrive about the beginning of October, a period when the season begins to be temperate; but this, unhappily, could not be accomplished.

Two

Two small reinforcements, one of 1,500 and one of 2,000 men, arrived at different periods. The last consisted of about 5,000; but near 3,000 of these were foreign cavalry, troops very little capable of being serviceable in a country intersected with steep mountains, and covered with thick woods. It was found not possible to mount them instantly on landing, and as by their terms of service they could not be forced to serve on foot, they became in a manner useless. The British troops, of the three reinforcements, were newly recruited soldiers, entirely raw and unformed, with the majority of officers just entered into the service. Lastly, all those troops arrived in the beginning of summer, a season when the English suppose that every kind of exertion is fatal to Europeans, and which, in fact, is the least proper for the service of the field. Thus it has been imagined that it was necessary to wait a season fitter than the present for operations; the troops have consequently been quartered in the garrisons, and disease has invariably destroyed them before they were usefully employed.

On the other hand, the chief officers do not appear to have had a proper idea of the species of war calculated for this country. They saw an extensive territory, apparently difficult for military operation; they estimated the number of the enemy according to the number of the negroes, on a supposition that they were equal to troops from Europe. They do not appear to have made a difference between war here and war in Europe, with difficulty persuading themselves that a handful of whites is capable of routing an army of negroes without courage or discipline, ill armed, and worse commanded (a).

Lastly, there does not appear to have been a

(a) Those advantages really existed; but the more the actual operations are delayed, the more they will be diminished, as the brigands are daily disciplined.

plan; private views seem to have directed the few operations which were attempted; for instance, at the time that Port-au-Prince was attacked and taken possession of, the whole French republican government and force were at Port Depaix. That town was not then in a state of defence; the garrison was actually starving; it saw no possibility of retreat, as the two adjoining parishes to the east and south were in the hands of the Spaniards, and the English in possession of the west. Thus the conquest was easy, and it would have been decisive, by cutting off communication between the north and the rest of the island; and it further may be observed, that had the republican government been once destroyed, the negroes and mulattoes, without head or direction, had sunk into a state of despondency; the Cape would have become an easy conquest on the arrival of the first reinforcement, and its situation to windward, by commanding the whole island and the sea, is of great consequence. Port-au-Prince offered none of those advantages. But the conquest of it was preferred, because there was a large fleet in the harbour loaded with goods, a rich booty for the conquerors. The attempt against Leogane, the expedition of Bombarde, were also advised by private interested views of another kind. The former had very unfortunate consequences, as the admiral was obliged to be refitting at Jamaica when the last reinforcement arrived at the Mole. While he was expected, the troops suffered, and became sickly on board the ships. During this time also a republican squadron, with commissaries, troops, arms, and ammunition, entered into the Cape without opposition.

The seeming independance of the navy forms a great hindrance to the land service, where the co-operation of a fleet is necessary to the success of an enterprize. It is certain that a very excellent plan was suggested to, and adopted by general Forbes, after

after the return of admiral William Parker from Jamaica; but partly disgusted at having been betrayed into the unfortunate attempt against Leogane, partly deceived by the reports artfully sent abroad, of a naval armament expected at the Cape, the admiral could not be prevailed upon to assent. The troops were of course dispersed into the garrisons, and fell victims to idleness and inactivity rather than to the actual effects of the climate.

16. **Expences.** With regard to expences, these have been immoderate and excessive. But still strong arguments may be pleaded in excuse of the necessity.

That great expences were indispensable in this undertaking, and that the conquest of St. Domingo was able to repay with interest, by the accession of wealth and of commerce, are facts beyond contradiction. The necessity of fortifying the several posts, of forming the colonial military establishment, independant of the cost of British troops and charges annexed to government, could not fail to run high, especially when every article of materials, cloathing, and victuals, were scarce and excessively dear. The negro corps were particularly expensive, as they could not be trusted if liberty was not granted them, and as they could not be taken from the masters without an indemnity. A careful administration had undoubtedly saved great sums; but if such an administration has not existed, the fault may be imputed to the plan of loading a single man with all the details of civil government, war, and finance, a burthen too great for an individual, and still more so for a military man, who can seldom be supposed fit for intricate business. Thus, if government has gone into excess, if impositions and frauds have been practised upon it, allowances should be made for the situation in which it was placed.

General Williamson, one of the most virtuous, honest, generous, compassionate, and benevolent men

men existing, had a natural inclination to scatter benefits, and was too candid himself to suspect imposition in others. He had the success of the British arms in St. Domingo much at heart, and was sensible that the best means to accomplish this were by endeavouring to attach sincerely the French to the service and government of his majesty. Unhappily, the British government does not hold out those moral means, namely the exterior distinctions and marks of honour which, in the French monarchy, were employed with much success to secure attachment, and without expence. High salaries and gratuities are the only or ordinary encouragements and rewards in the British service; and general Williamson having no other at his disposal, determined to employ them. First, he granted the usual rates of the British pay; the other allowances were requested, and seemed to follow of course. The cloathing of regiments is esteemed a perquisite or right of the colonel; this and the purveyance of regimental hospitals were insisted upon, objects which, under the present circumstances, might easily amount, and actually amounted to the most extravagant gain. There was no possibility of refusing what was deemed usual in the army. The plurality of places was also allowed, and much abused. Instances might be quoted, where the same officer was major or captain of a corps, and colonel of another, where he had another company. It is said, that all the pay allowances and profits of a company of foot amount to 18,000 livres, those of a company of horse to 36,000 livres, those of a regiment of foot to 100,000 and of horse to 200,000 livres, (the purveyance of cloathing and hospitals included) and perhaps to much more.

There is a great error in all this. Immense fortunes are engrossed, or scandalous expence made by a few men, the greater part of them strangers to the island, while brave lieutenants and ensigns
can

can scarcely maintain themselves, and while respectable and formerly wealthy planters, with their families, are suffering from want. This is even aggravated by the circumstance, that the majority of those who reap so great gains were in the beginning in indigence and distress, would be glad to have been employed for daily bread, and on this footing would have served with as much zeal, cheerfulness, and loyalty as they do at present (a).

Money has been compared to the dropsy; the more the patient drinks the more he desires to drink. The facility of obtaining has opened a door to ambition and rapacity, and example has perverted those who were considered as honest and disinterested. But even in excuse of this some allowance may be made. People see that the efforts of England in this colony are faint, that the progress is slow, that there is little hopes of the restoration of culture and tranquillity. Some, who have not property in expectation, do not look forward to distant prospects. After ruin, every body finds here an opportunity in some measure of repairing their losses, and how long that opportunity will last they cannot foresee. It must be owned, that more than common honesty would be necessary to resist the temptation.

The French civilians are by no means free from the same disposition. Even it must not be supposed that the English in office are, during all this profusion of wealth, negligent of themselves. That is not by any means the case. They consider St. Domingo as a conquest, and they argue, that as conquerors they ought to share in the prize.

The fortifications of the posts, the ships hired and armed for the service of government, the carriage of provisions and ammunition to the advanced posts

(a) I suppose if a more reasonable plan of oeconomy is now attempted, it is ten to one that all those gentlemen will withdraw from the service.

form a class of expences very enormous, and in which there has been great abuse, especially in remote places, where the governor, not being able to see with his own eyes, is obliged to trust to representations of others.

General Forbes has been shocked at the enormity of expence; he has made some trifling reforms; but he is diffculted in finding a more effectual remedy; for when once a tree has acquired growth and strength, however wrong and irregular in its disposition and direction, it requires a very skilful hand to lop the parasitical branches, without hurting or destroying the existence of the tree itself.

It is reported that governor Simcoe, who is already arrived at the Mole, comes out to act upon a plan of strict and regular œconomy (*a*); I hope he may be endowed with all the qualifications necessary for this truly herculean task, which I consider as a critical operation for the colony. Great alarm is already spread among those who are highly pensioned, or in the practice of engrossing the public money. Honest well meaning men will, as usual, preserve a respectful distance; intriguers will, as usual, also crowd round him, and contrive to sneak into his confidence. I really lament his situation, as I did that of his respectable predecessor's; I regret also that he is deprived of the aid of two men designed to accompany general Abercromby.

It is generally known that the climate of the West Indies is noxious to the constitutions of Europeans (*b*). It must not however be supposed

17. Mortality of troops.

(*a*) Certainly a man of capacity may reduce the expences, perhaps, under one half; but the plan talked of; bearing down the annual assistance from England to 300,000 l. sterling, amounts in my opinion to an actual destruction of the British possessions in St. Domingo.

(*b*) There is an old remark, that out of a given number, one Spaniard, two Frenchmen, and three Englishmen, will perish in the act of assimilation; and the different temperatures of Spain, France, and England, as well as the various degrees of intemperance of the three nations, agree with this observation.

that the uncommon mortality of the troops, which has taken place, is to be entirely imputed to the difficulty of assimilation. With proper management, many lives might have been saved which have been lost; nay the greater number of deaths are actually the effects of a wrong treatment.

It would seem, that as ministry transfer the responsibility to governors and commanders, prescribing no plan, but leaving all operations to their own choice, governors or commanders, on their part, believe themselves acquitted in entrusting the lives of troops to the care of the medical staff; yet physicians have only the charge of the actual sick; the governors are, in reality, entrusted with the charge of preserving health, by proper discipline and proper management. The general opinions, among the British, upon this subject, are as wrong as they can be.

The soldiers wear flannel, and are clothed in very heavy cloaths of woollen cloth.

They are allowed full living, and a daily ration of rum.

They are generally quartered in the towns upon the coasts, places particularly unhealthy, and where the gratifications of the vices of drunkenness and incontinence are easily attained.

It being supposed that exertions of every sort are fatal to Europeans, chiefly in summer, the soldiers are kept in an absolute state of inactivity and idleness, except the duty of guards and sentries, which affords no variety of exercise or amusement (a).

(a) Independent of the daily rations of rum, the soldiers get as much of it as they please. The officers never watch upon this important point; nay, great numbers of officers set the example of daily intemperance and drunkenness. When thus overheated, fever comes upon them; they are in general treated in the hospitals on a supposition that their stomach is debilitated; cordials are poured in; if a few escape, and they are not watched in their convalescent state, a relapse generally carries them to the grave.

The experience of all the inhabitants of St. Domingo condemns this practice, to which I am able to add an opinion of professional authority. A physician of the British staff, of some length of service and acquaintance with climates, in a memoir which I had the opportunity of perusing, has proved, by conclusive arguments drawn from experience, that the ordinary system of management is such as our enemies might advise; that, instead of the ordinary equipment, the soldier ought to be lightly and loosely cloathed, and defended from the cold of night, when on duty, by a mantle or cloak rather than a blanket; that he should live upon less full diet, and be permitted only a small and occasional allowance of rum; that European soldiers should be quartered or cantoned in the country, and especially in the mountains, which are generally healthy, the colonial troops being employed in the towns and plains; that thus they would be precluded from opportunities of acquiring or indulging in the vices and licentiousness of towns; that, though the cooler seasons are preferable for the business of war, yet exertions of body and mind are necessary at all times; and that, even in summer, the marches and activity of the field, under actual service, would have fewer victims than the system of indolence adopted at present. Further, he is of opinion, that of six men who may fall in the country, if one is the victim of climate, the other five are sacrificed to causes which might in general be obviated. Lastly, he says, and the truth of it is obvious, that our enemies are by no means formidable; and that, with proper management, and a good plan of conduct, the conquest presents little difficulty. I pray to God that our future governors may attend to this salutary advice.

It is time to stop. I wish this information may be useful to a government and to a nation to which

APPENDIX.

I am much indebted and heartily attached. Should any individuals take offence at my observations, I hope the greater number will allow that I have been cautious and moderate, and that I have taken care to throw the cloak of charity over the sins of my neighbours.

March 1st, 1797.

April 7th, 1797.

P. S. I am happy that the time necessary to review and correct this work leaves it in my power, after the preceding details, to give some comfort to those who wish for the success of the British arms in St. Domingo. Governor Simcoe assumed the reins of government about a month ago, and it seems as if severe trials had been reserved to put his abilities to the test. The preceding supineness of government suffered the brigands to collect forces in some degree formed to discipline. They have attacked, in better order than usual, several posts. General Simcoe has opposed their efforts with judgment, activity, and spirit, and has checked their progress effectually, wherever he has been present. Where he has not been, things have happened so afflicting, and so extraordinary, that time only and strict enquiry into the facts can enable a man of discretion to form a judgment of the real causes, and of the conduct of some officers. However, the spirit and capacity of the governor inspire general confidence. Forces are arrived from Jeremy, others are expected from Jamaica. There is no doubt but our losses will be repaired, and the insolence of the enemy repressed. Before the confusion of these events, governor Simcoe had began
to

to penetrate into the business of civil administration, to investigate the channels of expenditure, and to inquire into the means of establishing a system of oeconomy, in which he is ably assisted by J. Wigglesworth, esquire, the commissary-general, a man of capacity and integrity. Those sincerely attached to the prosperity of St. Domingo, see with indifference the approaching diminution of their pecuniary emoluments (*a*), while those eager only in the pursuit of gain are overawed. Subordination also is restored. Those who had been accustomed to object to, or evade orders given in a feeble and irresolute manner, now implicitly and instantly obey. Some men of great name, but of little real merit, begin to lose influence. Intriguers still put on the mask, lurk about, and look for oblique means of access; but they are daily disappointed; and it is hoped that they will not again be able to lay hold of the reins of government.

In short, it is a subject of universal regret, that general Simcoe was not here two years ago. We, however, find ourselves happy in his presence, at a critical period (a period perhaps marked for the destruction of the British colony) and we doubt not, that if assisted effectually by England, he will accomplish the object of putting the whole colony under the dominion of his country.

(*a*) The privy council and the superior council have offered a great diminution of their salaries; the planters of Culdesac have offered their negroes to serve as soldiers; instances of zeal and patriotism which could not be expected to happen under a less popular and able chief.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CURRENCIES.

Sterling.			Jamaica Currency.			St. Domingo Currency.			In Dollars, Bits, Sols, and Deniers.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Livres.	Sols.	Den.	Dol.	Bits.	S. Den.
—	—	1	—	—	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	2	10 $\frac{13}{16}$	—	—	—
—	1	—	—	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	2	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1	—	—	1	8	—	34	13	—	—	2	3 —
10	—	—	14	—	—	346	10	—	42	—	—
20	—	—	28	—	—	693	—	—	84	—	—
30	—	—	42	—	—	1,039	10	—	126	—	—
50	—	—	70	—	—	1,732	10	—	210	—	—
100	—	—	140	—	—	3,465	—	—	420	—	—
500	—	—	700	—	—	17,325	—	—	2,100	—	—
1,000	—	—	1,400	—	—	34,650	—	—	4,200	—	—
10,000	—	—	14,000	—	—	346,500	—	—	42,000	—	—
100,000	—	—	140,000	—	—	3,465,000	—	—	420,000	—	—

N. B. A

N. B. A livre St. Domingo currency is to a pound sterling as 693 to 20, therefore multiply a sum of St. Domingo by 20, and divide by 693, the quotient will be the corresponding sum sterling, and vice versa; that is, if you multiply a sum sterling by 693 and divide by 20, the quotient will be the same sum St. Domingo currency.

A pound Jamaica currency is to a pound sterling, as 7 to 5.

A pound Jamaica currency is to a livre of St. Domingo, as 4 to 99.

In both cases, the rule is the same. Multiply by 5 or by 99, and divide by 7 or by 4, and vice versa.



POSTAL

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